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Looking Sharp

Dutch Bronze Age razors and tweezers in context

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Abstract: Discussions on the presence, nature and apparel of (presumed) European Bronze Age warriors has traditionally focused on weapon graves, armour and rock art – the latter two regrettably absent in the Low Countries. This means that for this area, warrior identities need to be reconstructed on the basis of funerary assemblages that may even lack actual weapons.

Since Paul Treherne's seminal (1995) paper, particularly razors and tweezers have been recognized as reflecting the personal care typical of the warrior life-style.

In this paper, Bronze Age and Early Iron Age razors and tweezers from the Netherlands are discussed as part of their wider West-European distribution. Razors of different shapes (pegged, tanged, symmetrical and asymmetrical) can be shown to date to different phases in the period of c. 1600 – 600 BC. Moreover, in variations in handle and blade shape, regional groups and supra-regional contact networks can be identified. Tweezers too show ample diachronic and regional variations: in addition to presumably local types, Nordic and Hallstatt imports are discernible.

Razors and tweezers were part of toilet sets that differed in meaning and composition within the time-frame of 1600-600 BC. We argue that the short-hafted awls frequently found in association may represent tattooing needles. In the Hallstatt period, nail-cutters and ear-scoops complement the set (now often suspended from a ring and worn in leather pouches closed with rings or beads).

Contextual analysis of the objects shows that razors could be placed in hoards, yet most originate from graves. Several urnfield razors (and some tweezers) originate from funerary monuments that must have stood out for their age, shape or dimensions (e.g. older tombs, long-bed barrows), hinting at a special status for those interred with the toilet sets.

Remarkably, the association of razors and tweezers with weapons is infrequent for the Low Countries during most phases of the Bronze Age. Associations with swords are limited to the Ploughrescant-Ommerschans dagger from the famous Ommerschans hoard and the Gündlingen sword from the Oss chieftain's grave. This means that in the Low Countries, a pars-pro-toto approach to the expression of warrior identity prevailed – one in which the interment of toilet sets instrumental to the expression of warrior identity took precedence over the interment of weaponry.

Keywords: Razors, tweezers, tattooing needles, toilet sets, warriors, Bronze Age, Early Iron Age, Western Europe.

1. Problem definition: Lost Bronze Age warriors?

Despite evidence of endemic violent conflict in the Bronze Age, within (e.g. Louwe Kooijmans 1993) and outside the Netherlands,¹ and despite the numbers of Bronze Age weapons recovered (e.g. Essink & Hielkema 2000; Fontijn 2003), the actual existence and identifiability of local Bronze Age warriors has only rarely been discussed for the Netherlands (but see Fontijn 2003: 226-236; Arnoldussen 2008: 432-435). In no small part this must be due to the modest number of known Bronze

Age weapon graves in the Netherlands: Bourgeois and Fontijn (2012: 540-541) could list only 12 daggers and swords from Early and Middle Bronze Age funerary contexts². As over 500 barrow phases are known for these periods (Lohof 1994: 99-100; Theunissen 1999: 72) and research intensity (i.e. the ratio of barrows excavated to known barrows) is estimated at around 20% (Bourgeois 2013: 8), this scarcity most probably reflects a prehistoric reality – albeit that weapons figure more prominently in riverine deposition (> 60 swords; Fontijn 2003: 228, fig. 11.3; Brück & Fontijn 2013: 199).

¹ E.g. Osgood 2006; Harding 2007; Knöpke 2009; Jantzen et al. 2011; 2015.

² For chronology and absolute dates see Fig. 27.

Evidently, the Netherlands lack the substantial numbers of graves with weapons that elsewhere in Europe have sparked theories of a Bronze Age warrior class.³ Such a warrior identity may be identified through material representations of its core values: personal weaponry, drinking equipment, body ornamentation and grooming, horse-riding and wheeled vehicles⁴. Any discussion of the validity of such models for the Netherlands must therefore be based not solely on the iconic ‘weapon graves’⁵, but also take into account a wider range of contexts (most notably wetland deposition zones) and artefact associations, in order to support the plausibility and reconstruct the particularities of the Bronze Age warrior. In this paper, we consider the role that ‘toiletries’ or ‘grooming implements’ such as razors and tweezers may play in identifying warriors in the Low Countries.

The role of tweezers and razors as instruments for signifying a warrior status has been advocated best in Paul Treherne’s seminal study (1995), which since has proved influential in studies of martial identities (Frieman *et al.* 2017). Central to Treherne’s narrative is the finality of the burial ritual (Rebay-Salisbury 2017: 41), which provides a salient if brief arena for conveying the warrior values and identity (Treherne 1995: 108) embodied by the deceased – including an ethos of bodily perfection (Brück 2017: 38–39; also suggested by the muscular definition visible on cuirasses (Rebay-Salisbury 2017: 42; Egg & Kramer 2013). According to Treherne (1995: 105; 107; 110; 125), combs, (tattooing?) awls, razors and tweezers were instrumental in the fabrication of a look fit – or reserved – for warriors. Combing, shaving and plucking of hair, manicuring nails, scarification or tattooing could be part of the warrior’s bodily regime (Rebay-Salisbury 2017: 41; Harding 2008: 192) and use traces on toiletries reflect actual (regular) use.⁶ Martial identities – like other types of identity – obviously may have been expressed through the body by shaving, trimming and removal of (facial) hair (Rebay-Salisbury 2017: 42), but textiles, body painting or tattooing (*cf.* Van Giffen 1947: 118; Bergerbrandt 2007: 46) and perishable ornaments (equally archaeologically invisible) are similarly employable media.

The razors with their variations in form and quality of decoration (whose motifs are frequently thought to pertain to cosmological travel of the sun or actual travels by ship (Kaul 1998; Harding 2008: 193) and their infrequent interment may have expressed an elite status (Harding 2008: 192). Moreover, as stylistic variations can be detected in razor forms and decorations across Europe⁷, a premise of personal ownership could provide handles for interpersonal contacts or mobility (Harding 2008: 193, *cf.* Sandars 1957: 320–321).

Others, such as Woodward (2000: 115), have stressed that the razors and tweezers recovered from graves may have been used to mark the bodies of the mourners instead, complicating their implicit interpretation as personal masculine objects.⁸ The recovery of facial hairs from more than one person on the Winterslow razor may be a case in point.⁹ Also, our limited understanding of the cosmological significance of the iconography on razors (which may reference animals as diverse as horses, fish, waterfowl and whales (Kaul 1998; Jockenhövel 2003: 139; Warmenbol 2015) warrants cautious and regionally specific interpretations.¹⁰ Moreover, the scope and pervasiveness of the warrior ideology, its selectiveness (who were entitled and when?) and its bodily repercussions have recently been called into question.¹¹ A critical appraisal of proxies for warrior identity in the Low Countries beyond weapon-graves in the strictest sense, is therefore much needed.

2. Dutch Bronze Age toiletries

In the sections below, the information available on Bronze Age artefacts that may have been part of toilet sets (*e.g.* razors, tweezers, combs) will be discussed. This section will however start with an introduction to the terminology and typological labels frequently applied to these sets of artefacts, in order to facilitate clear and accurate descriptions, but also to allow comparison with similar artefacts found elsewhere in Europe.

2.1 Introduction, terminology and typology

The corpus of Dutch Bronze Age implements attributed to toilet sets comprises mostly razors (*n*=3) and tweezers

3 *E.g.* Kristiansen 1984; 1998: 115–122; Harrison 2004: 59; 165; Kristiansen & Larsson 2005: 246–249, but see Harding 2000: 275.

4 Treherne 1995: 105; Harding 2008; Brück 2017: 40.

5 Butler 1990, esp. 71–76; 94–95; 102–103; Bourgeois & Fontijn 2012: 525–525 tab. 1; *cf.* Sarauw 2007.

6 Jockenhövel 2003: 138; Harding 2008: 191–192; Kaul 2013: 469; Rebay-Salisbury 2017: 41; Bergerbrandt 2017: 45.

7 *E.g.* Jockenhövel 1980, *Taf.* 57B; Gedl 1981, *Taf.* 21–22; Harding 2008: 193.

8 Brück 2017: 39, *cf.* Aldhouse-Green 2004: 300; Harding 2008: 192.

9 Jockenhövel 1980: 198; Kavanagh 1991: 86; Barrett 1994: 123.

10 Jockenhövel 2003: 139; Harding 2008: 192–194; Thrane 2013: 760–762; Kincade 2014: 4; Warmenbol 2015: 494; Bergerbrandt 2007: 61; 92.

11 Rebay-Salisbury 2017: 43; Sofaer 2017: 50; Knüsel 2017: 52.

(n=4). The latter category has so far rarely been dealt with in depth¹², but Tackenberg (1971: 150-174) discusses tweezers at length. In Kersten's terminology, Earlier Nordic tweezers (Kersten's *Form 1*; *op. cit.*, 58) have broad loops and wide, flaring blades and are placed by Torbrügge (1959, *Taf.* 81) into Reinecke C1 (c. 1475-1400 BC; Butler & Steegstra 2007/2008, 376 fig. 1). Kersten's (1936: 59) *Form 2* tweezers have narrow loops and either parallel-sided or widening blades, and are placed from Reinecke C2 onwards (c. 1400-1325 BC)¹³. Baudou (1960: 40-44) classified the Nordic tweezers by form (triangular shapes of variable width and narrow, parallel-sided tweezers) and decoration (lines, bosses), following the earlier typological attempt by Kersten (1936: 58-61). Tackenberg (1971: 150-174; 283-292; *Karte* 33-37) classified the north-German tweezers by shape of the handle (narrow, widening), shape of the blade (triangular, paddle-shaped) and decoration (bosses, dot-circle motifs, linear motifs). From the Middle Bronze Age (e.g. Laux 2017: 130; *Taf.* 34.6) to the Early Iron Age (e.g. Jansen *et al.* 2011: 110), tweezers could be carried on suspension rings – to which further items could be added.

Tattooing needles may also have been part of Bronze Age toilet sets¹⁴, but they are difficult to distinguish from generic awls (Torbrügge 1959: 66 note 227; 67). Leviticus 19:28 describes tattooing as an act undertaken by mourners at funerals, further obfuscating the question whether such tools were used by the deceased in life – to mark status, affiliation or particular (initiation) rites (Shishlina, Belkevich & Usachuk 2013: 71) – or by mourners upon a death. Particularly in Scandinavia, associations of suspected tattooing needles with tweezers and razors (Torbrügge 1959: 66 ref. to Müller 1897; Hoffmann 1938, *Taf.* 1; 2; 9) add credence to the former interpretation (*cf.* Aner & Kersten 1986, *Taf.* 13) and from central Germany similar associations are known (e.g. Labersricht *tum.*12/1; Torbrügge 1959: 133; *Taf.* 23.12). Carr (2005: 282) stressed that hair removal is a prerequisite to tattooing, which again argues for a functional association of tattooing needles with both razors and tweezers. Torbrügge (1959: 175; 188; *Taf.* 45.15; 56.5) lists two suspected tattooing needles with (dog-)bone handles, one of which was recovered from the shoulder region of an inhumation grave. Torbrügge (1959: 67) distinguished three main forms of tattooing needles: *Form Straubing* (dated to the Early Bronze Age; Torbrügge 1959: 211 fig. 16.9) is characterized by a rhombic widening of the rod-like body (*cf.* Van Giffen 1947: 118). *Form Batzhausen* refers to short tattooing needles that end

in a flattened (cutting?) edge opposite their tapering point (e.g. Torbrügge 1959, *Taf.* 29.10). *Form Eilsbrunn* describes tattooing needles that have a square cross-section becoming rounded towards the point, and that may have organic or bronze handles (e.g. Torbrügge 1959, 56 No. 20; *Taf.* 56 No. 5).

Combs too may have been part of Bronze Age toilet sets (Treherne 1995: 110), but as most were made of perishable materials such as horn or wood (Kersten 1936: 57, but see Sprockhoff 1932, *Taf.* 8n or Bergerbrandt 2007: 63 for bronze examples), they survive only in anaerobic conditions such as coffins below iron-pan formations (e.g. Egtved, Borum Eshøj, Trindhøj; Bergerbrandt 2007: 63) or in wetland votive deposits (e.g. Butler 1990: 63-64; 63 fig. 9 No. 2). Because of such funerary associations, a dating to Per. II (1475-1325 BC) and III (1325-1125 BC) was suggested by Kersten (1936: 58; *Taf.* XXXVI). Combs are infrequently associated with razors, e.g. the Nybøl grave with razor and comb interred with an adult male (Randsborg *et al.* 2006: 120; Kincade 2014: 39), Hafdrup-Trindhøj grave A (Aner & Kersten 1986: 25; *Taf.* 12) or the King's grave at Seddin (Kiebusch 1928, 30-32; *Taf.* XIX-XX). Bergerbrandt (2007: 63) argues that combs are interred both with males and – decidedly more frequently – with females, but that their placement (attached to the clothing of females, not attached with males) differs.

For the razors, several typological schemes have been forwarded. Baudou (1960: 29-39) classified the Nordic razors into four main groups: a series with forward-curved handles (plain, or horse- or bird-shaped), a series with thin backwards-curved handles (*Rasiermesser mit zurückgebogenem, drahtförmigem Griffortsatz*; Jockenhövel 1980: 164), a series of razors with broad grips and a series of trapezoidal and semicircular razors. Tackenberg (1971: 126-149) stressed the importance of looking at both blades and handle shapes for the north-German razors, and devised a typological scheme for symmetrical razors with different types of openwork handles (open, cross-hatched, ladder motifs; Tackenberg 1971, *Karte* 24) and tang-and-loop handles (with or without ribs; *op. cit.*, 131). For the asymmetrical razors, a group of '*palafitte*' razors (*Pfahlbaurasiermesser*; with or without loops or handles) and a group of more trapezoidal shape were proposed (Tackenberg 1971, *Karte* 25-26). The Nordic razors were classified by Tackenberg according to grip type (s-shaped, spiral-shaped, cast-on handles) and blade

12 But see Childe 1930: 100-101; Kersten 1936: 58-59; Sandars 1957: 128; Torbrügge 1959: 67; Eogan 1964: 277.

13 Torbrügge 1959, *Taf.* 81; Butler & Steegstra 2007/2008, 376 fig. 1.

14 Müller 1897, 261; Holste 1939, 52; Broholm 1946, 99; Hundt 1958, 11; Torbrügge 1959, 67: tattooed human remains from c. 3300-2400 cal BC are known; Samadeli *et al.* 2015; Shishlina, Belkevich & Usachuk 2013, 68.

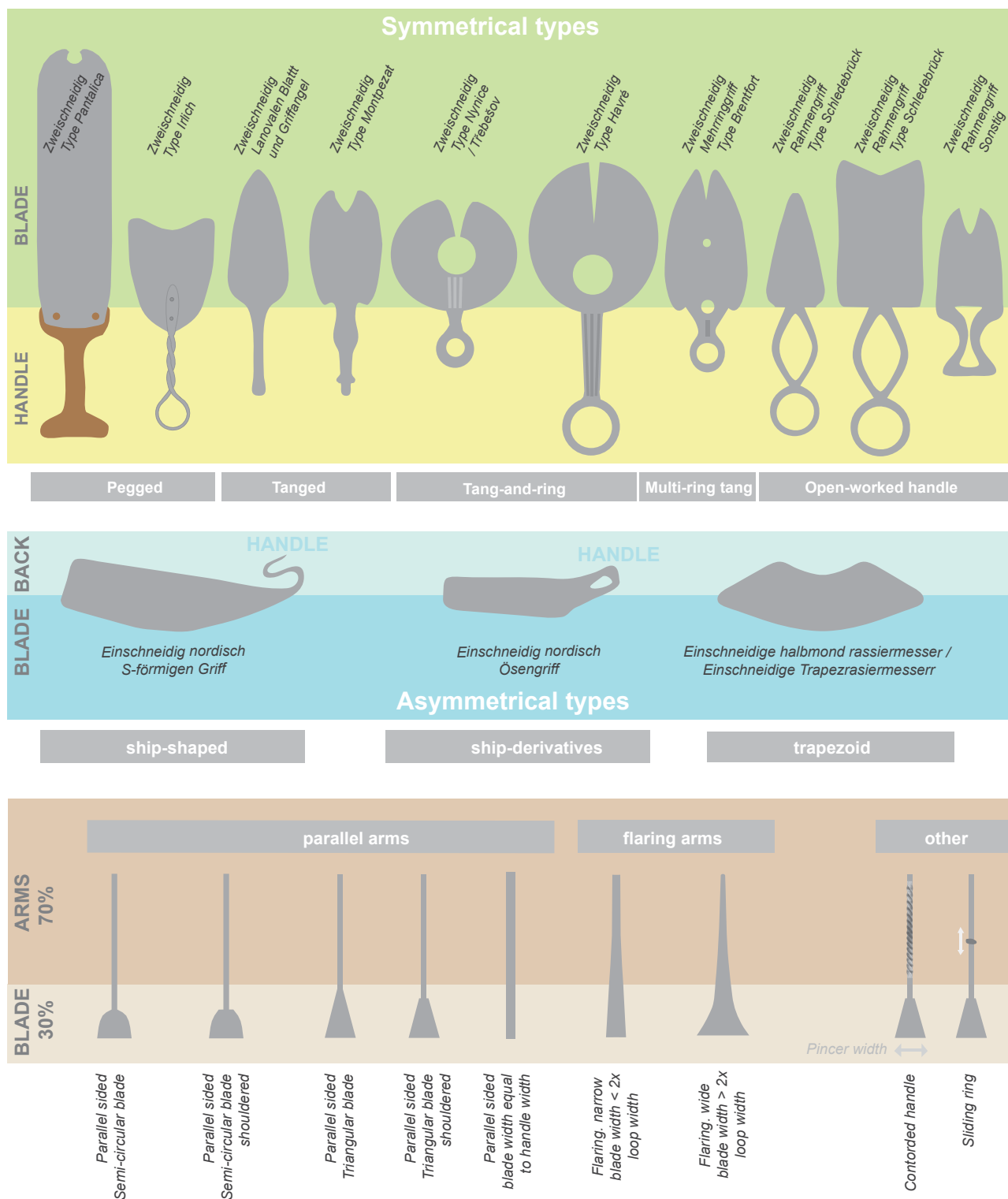


Fig. 1. Main typological criteria, schematic outlines and classifications for Dutch razors and tweezers. Previous typological labels (from Jockenhövel 1971; 1980) are added as well. Drawing S.Arnoldussen (Groningen Institute of Archaeology, University of Groningen).

back (straight, arched, curved upwards; Tackenberg 1971: 279-280; Karte 27-30). Jockenhövel too classified the razors of central (1971) and western Europe (1980), on the basis of a set of basic (symmetrical / zweischneidige versus asymmetrical / einschneidige; Jockenhövel

1971: 1; 2003: 137) and detailed morphological traits such as shape of the grip (tanged, or open-worked handle), blade notches or perforations (e.g. bifid razors) and overall shape of the blade and handle (Jockenhövel 1971: 1-3; 7-8; 1980: 3). Therefore we do not propose a new

classification, but rather present a reduced and somewhat simplified typological scheme based on the razor types predominant in the Low Countries (Fig. 1), which is nonetheless aligned with the widely-used typological labels defined by Albrecht Jockenhövel.

2.2 The Dutch corpus

The corpus of Dutch Bronze Age razors also reflects the main classification into symmetrical (Fig. 1, top: *zweischneidige* Rasiermesser) and asymmetrical (*einschneidige*; Fig. 1, middle register) razors. The former group can be further subdivided into types that had an organic handle (cf. De Mortillet 1881, pl. XVC) witnessed by the pegholes (Pegged / *Griffplatte*), tanged razors that may or may not have been slotted into organic hilts (Tanged / *Griffangel/-dorn*), and a group of razors with cast-on hilts that have tangs or stems terminating in single rings (Tang-and-ring / *Endring*), handles with multiple rings (Multi-ring tang / *Mehrringgriff*) or openwork handles (Open-worked handle / *Rahmengriff*). Additional grooves, slits or ribs placed on the handles (and sometimes blades; cf. DB526) are not used in this paper to further sub-classify the razors, but are rather seen as part of the variable decorative repertoire. Across these

different types of handle arrangements, variation in blade shapes is significant. Various blades have a bifid appearance due to a central notch (*Blattausschnitt*) in the upper part of the blade and/or a circular perforation on the blade's central axis (*Blattdurchbruch*).

The group of asymmetrical razors is characterized by the fact that these have a blunt back (*Rücken*) opposite the cutting edge (*Schneide*), but are subdivided by their handle arrangement and blade form. The group of ship-shaped / *einschneidige nordische Rasiermesser* comprises examples with handles of varied shape. The group here labelled 'ship-derivatives' display handles curved forwards to meet the blade's back (*zurückgebogenem, drachförmigem Griff-Vorsatz*) or pierced handles (*Ösengriff*; cf. Jockenhövel 1980, Taf. 32). The third main type amongst the asymmetrical razors are the semicircular to trapezoidal razors (*Halbrunde / Trapezoide*), often with a distinct notch or curvature in the blade's back (*Rückendellung* or *Rückeneinsattelung*; Jockenhövel 1971, 1). In general, the thin cutting edge is affected by taphonomic degradation, meaning that exact blade outlines – whilst a valid criterium – are difficult to operationalize with archaeological specimens (Jockenhövel 1971: 7-8).

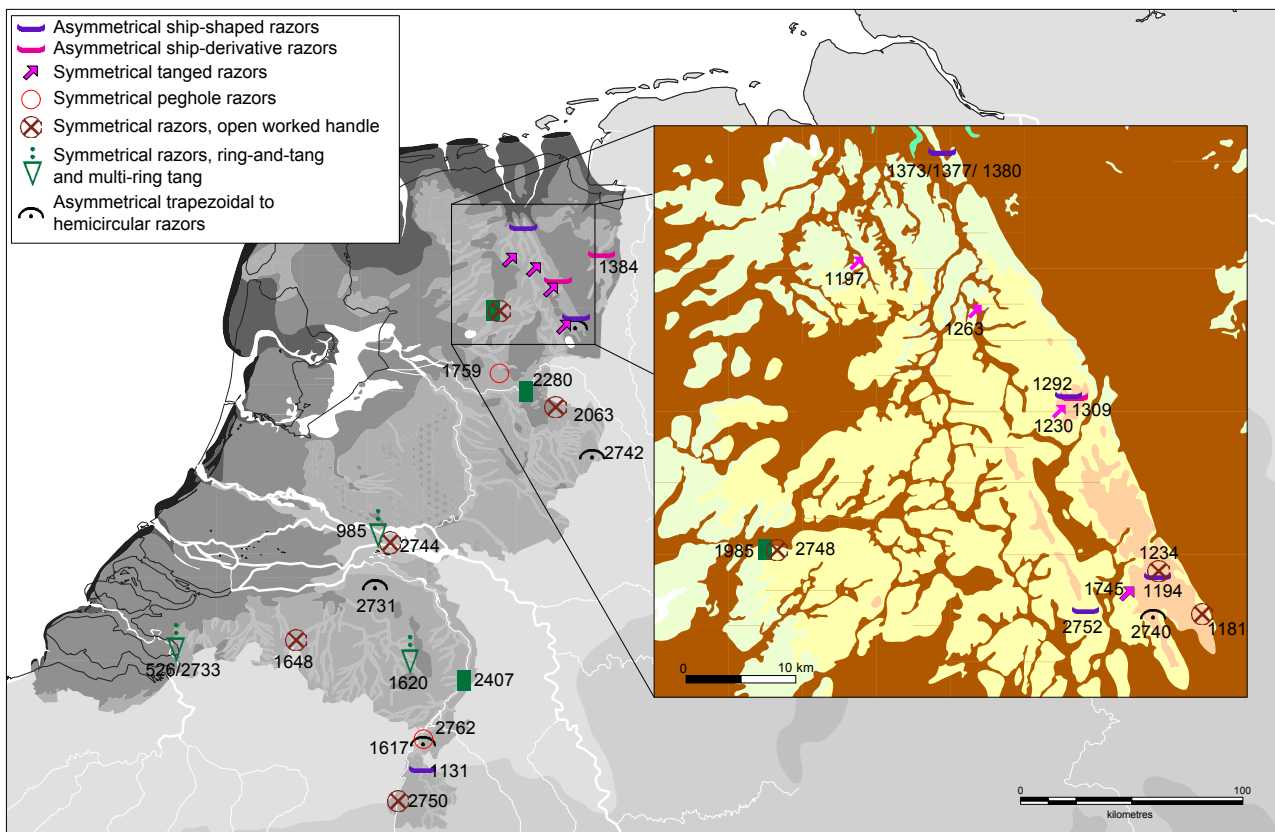


Fig. 2. Distribution of later prehistoric razor blades in the Netherlands. The greyscale map shows their distribution against the palaeogeographic situation around 3800 BP (from De Mulder et al. 2003: 228 fig. 143: dark grey areas are coastal barriers, grey areas are peatbogs, halftone grey areas are uplands and light grey areas represent stream and river valleys), the inset shows the cluster of examples in Drenthe (with a reconstruction of the extent of the peatbog (brown) and upland zones (green to yellow to reddish tints) by 1500 cal BC (after Vos et al. 2011: 55). Drawing S. Arnoldussen (Groningen Institute of Archaeology, University of Groningen).

For the tweezers (Fig. 1, lower register), absence of prior typological work for the region under study meant that a pragmatic morphometric approach was taken that works for the corpus of tweezers from the Low Countries (but is not necessarily applicable elsewhere). The main typological distinction concerns the shape of the arms in the upper 70% of the tweezers body: tweezers both with parallel and widening (flaring) arms are found. On the latter category, the arm width (gradually) increases even over the upper 70% of the tweezer's length, whereas on the former, the width stays constant. The group of tweezers with parallel-sided arms can be subdivided by the shape of their blades: these may be semicircular or triangular and sometimes show a narrow 'shoulder' section perpendicular to the arms. For the widening-armed tweezers, variations in blade width versus arm width can be used to define 'narrow' (ratio of blade width to arm width $< 2:1$) and 'wide' tweezers (ratio of blade width to arm width $> 2:1$, cf. Steuer 2003: 178). Additionally, minor variations in the curvature of the blades occur (from convex to flat to concave blade tips) and occasionally sliding rings to hold the arms together are found (e.g. Figs 15 & 17, DB2737; DB2730).¹⁵ Also, tweezer arms may be twisted longitudinally to provide a decorative torsion effect (e.g. DB2732, cf. Torbrügge 1959, *Taf.* 24.27).

2.3 Razors

In the below section, the corpus of Bronze Age (and Early Iron Age) Dutch razors is discussed (Fig. 2 for locations). The razors are grouped by handle type (pegged, tanged, tang-and-ring, multi-ring tang and openwork handles) and shape of the blades. First, the symmetrical (German: *zweischneidige*) razors are discussed, followed by the asymmetrical (German: *einschneidige*) razors.

2.3.1 Symmetrical (bifid) razors: pegged (Fig. 3)

(DB 1759) Ommerschans, *Gemeente Ommen, Overijssel*. From the 1896 hoard.

L. 13.6 cm; w. 3.7 cm; th. 0.4 cm. Double-edged symmetrical razor, with parallel sides, tapering slightly toward the straight butt end. Two small rivet-holes at the base of the blade. At the opposite end a small notch (German: *Blattausschnitt*; Jockenhövel 1971,1) is discernible. Cross-section: shallow pointed-oval. Faint traces of what appears to be an organic handle are preserved in the patina on one side. Patina: grey-green. Found around 1896, by Geert Remmelts, near to the Ommerschans at Witharen (exact location unclear). According to the description, the hoard contained a ceremonial (68.3 cm) aggrandized dirk blade of the Ommerschans-Plougrescant type, laying on a platform of birchwood stakes, in peat on sand, onto which a series of smaller items were placed: the razor, two chisels, fragments of rods or pins, fragments of

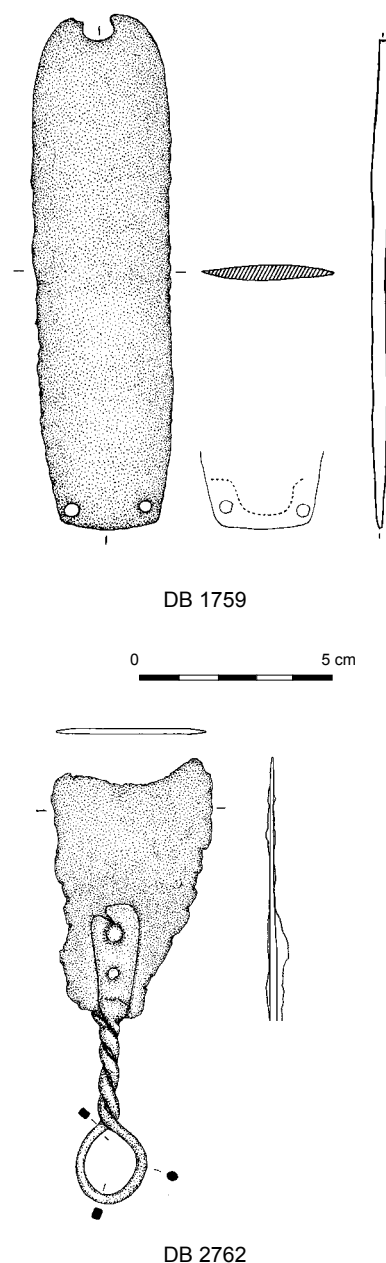


Fig. 3. Symmetrical (bifid) razors: pegged. Drawings: Groningen Institute of Archaeology / H. Steegstra.

rough (sheet) bronze and several flint and stone artefacts (Butler 1990: 87 for full inventory). Museum: RMO, Inv. No. d 2017/7.2.

Map reference: c. 223.2/511.6.

References: Butler & Bakker 1961: 199; 206-207; fig. 3:2; Butler 1990: 87-91, 89 fig. 21 No. 2; Jockenhövel 1980: 81 No. 232; *Taf.* 13 No. 232; Amkreutz & Brattinga 2017: 20; Amkreutz & Fontijn 2017.

Parallels: Lakenheath (Jockenhövel 1980: 81 No. 231, *Taf.* 13 No. 231). Otherwise found in Sicily (Type Pantalica; Jockenhövel 1980: 81; Müller-Karpe 1959: 23).

¹⁵ Cf. Drescher 1963: 140; Verlinde 1987: 216 note 290; Tackenberg 1971: 171; *Taf.* 36 nos. 9-10; Steuer 2003: 179.

Dating: The group of ceremonial dirks of the Ommerschans-Plougrescant type are currently dated to c. 1500-1350 BC (Fontijn 2001: 263; Amkreutz & Brattinga 2017: 20; Amkreutz & Fontijn 2017: 52). For the razor, a slightly younger (13th century BC) age had previously been suggested by Jockenhövel (1980: 81).

(DB 2762) Echt, Gemeente Echt-Susteren, Limburg. Kelvinweg urnfield grave.

L. 12 cm; w. 4.2 cm; th. 1.5 mm. Symmetrical (bifid) pegged razor; handle of entwined bronze wire (diam. 0.4 cm) with flattened-out ends attached with two rivets to blade. Patina: mottled green, heavily corroded. Found during the excavation of an urnfield by Grontmij (now Sweco) in 2013.

Map reference: c. 189.1/347.4

References: -

Parallels: Type Irlich (Jockenhövel 1980: 85-86) describes two razors from Heimbach and Irlich (Kreis Neuwied) with identical handle types and handle-blade connections.

Dating: Type Irlich is dated by Jockenhövel (1980: 86) to the *ältere Urnenfeldernzeit* (c. 1200-1125 BC), a date based primarily on the typochronology of the urn and pin found with the Irlich razor (*op. cit.*, 86; *Taf.* 72C).

2.3.2 Symmetrical (bifid) razors: tanged (Fig. 4)

(DB 1230) Drouwen, Gemeente Borger en Odoorn, Drenthe. Grave under a mortuary structure in tumulus.

L. +11.2 cm. Symmetrical tanged bifid razor. Thin, flat blade, poorly preserved (only a small part still exists; the tang and base of blade were well preserved, but not present on 19 Oct. 2017). Thicker narrow tang; thinning towards slightly widened end. The shape of upper half of blade as shown is based on an excavation drawing and photograph *in situ*; the exact original outline was indeterminate. Patina: mottled green, very corroded. From the central interment, a pit of 1.85 by 1.4 m placed amidst four posts (a possible mortuary house; cf. Lohof 2000), underneath a disturbed barrow 30 m across with a 9 m sandy core and a possible stone kerb. From this grave, a series of artefacts were recovered (Inv.Nos 1927/VIII.40a-g): a Sögel dirk, a nick-flanged axe, a pair of gold coils, nine flint arrowheads (elongated with concave base), a flint strike-a-light and a whetstone (inventory description: Butler 1990: 71-73 find No. 11). Museum: Assen, Inv.No. 1927/VIII.40f.

Map reference: 249.25/551.95.

References: O'Connor 1980: 91 list 48 No. 3; Butler 1990: 71-73, esp. 72 fig. 14 No. 3; Jockenhövel 1980: 39 No. 68; *Taf.* 3: no 68.

Parallels: *Zweischneidige Rasiermesser mit langovalem Blatt und Griffangel, Variante I* (Jockenhövel 1980: 37-40; *Taf.* 2-4. These razors have a mainly Atlantic distribution focused on United Kingdom and Ireland, with continental outliers in the Low Countries (DB1230) and Rheinland-Pfalz (Jockenhövel 1980: 49-50).

Dating: Based on the associated Sögel blade *Montelius 1b*, c. 1575-1475 BC (Vandkilde 1996, 156; Fontijn 2003: 10; Butler & Steegstra 2007/2008: 376, fig. 1).

(DB 1263) Gasteren, Gemeente Aa en Hunze, Drenthe. Tumulus 42.

L. 10 cm. Symmetrical tanged bifid razor. Flat blade (w. 4 cm) with v-shaped notch and angular shoulders. Thin tang of rectangular cross-section, with angular lateral projections at its centre and two lug-like diagonal projections (remains of a ring-handle?). Cast in two-piece mould; edges ground slightly concave. Patina: dark green to black, with lighter corrosion patches; surface mostly well preserved. Found in urnfield, tumulus 42, which is a long-bed barrow of Vledder type, with a decentrally placed NW-SE inhumation. Near the presumed location of the skull (Van Giffen 1945: 83), tweezers (DB1269), the razor, a flint flake and two irregular discoid whetstones were found. Museum: Assen, Inv.No.1939/VII.45d.

Map reference: c. 241.6/561.1.

References: Van Giffen 1945: 83, 105, abb. 15A; Tackenberg 1971: 283 *Liste* 78:1; Jockenhövel 1980: 58 No. 135; *Taf.* 8 No. 135; De Wit 1998, 361.

Parallels: DB1197; DB1745.

Dating: Per. IV-V (c. 1125-750 BC; Jockenhövel 1980: 58). Tombs of the Vledder type are dated to c. 1380-920 cal. BC (De Vries 2012: 15; Lanting & Van der Plicht 2003: 214).

(DB 1197) Zeijen, Gemeente Tynaarlo, Drenthe. Noordse veld.

L. 10.5 cm (blade 7.3 cm; tang 3.2 cm); w. 3.5 cm; th. blade 2.2 cm. Symmetrical tanged bifid razor. Oblong blade, shallow blade notch at upper end; angular shoulder; tang of rectangular cross-section. Patina: mottled green; severely corroded (now embedded in plaster). Excavated in 1917 by A.E. van Giffen. Found in the southeastern corner of a NNE-SSW oriented, rectangular ditch-enclosed long-bed barrow (Type Noordbarge; Kooi 1979: 130-131), next to several other long-bed barrows in a multi-period cemetery. Museum Assen, Inv. No. 1917/VIII.76.

Map reference: c. 230.77/565.50.

References: Van Giffen 1949: 93-148, fig. 22a No. 76; Jacob-Friesen 1963: 261 *Abb.* 235; Butler 1963: 117, Fig. 33 No. 6 (erroneously captioned "Gasteren"); Jockenhövel 1980: 58 No. 136, *Taf.* 8 No. 136; O'Connor 1980: 91, list 48 No. 5.

Parallels: The razor from Ehestorf grave, Kr. Bremervörde (Nowothnig 1958: 129 *Taf.* 1 No. 3); DB1263; DB1745.

Dating: End Middle Bronze Age-B to Late Bronze Age, based on dating of the Gasteren (DB1263) razor. For long-bed barrows of the Noordbarge type, direct dates (Lanting & Van der Plicht 2003: 215) and typochronological associations suggest a date range from c. 1200 BC to into the Early Iron Age (c. 800/600 BC; Arnoldussen & Albers 2015: 155-157, 156 tab. 2).

(DB 1745) Emmen, Gemeente Emmen, Drenthe. Westenes D42.

L. +8.2 cm; w. 3.3; th. 0.2cm. Symmetrical tanged bifid razor. Edge abraded, break patinated. Thicker ellipsoid central body, thinning towards the cutting edges. Patina: dark, glossy green; many corrosion pits. Found during clandestine digging into

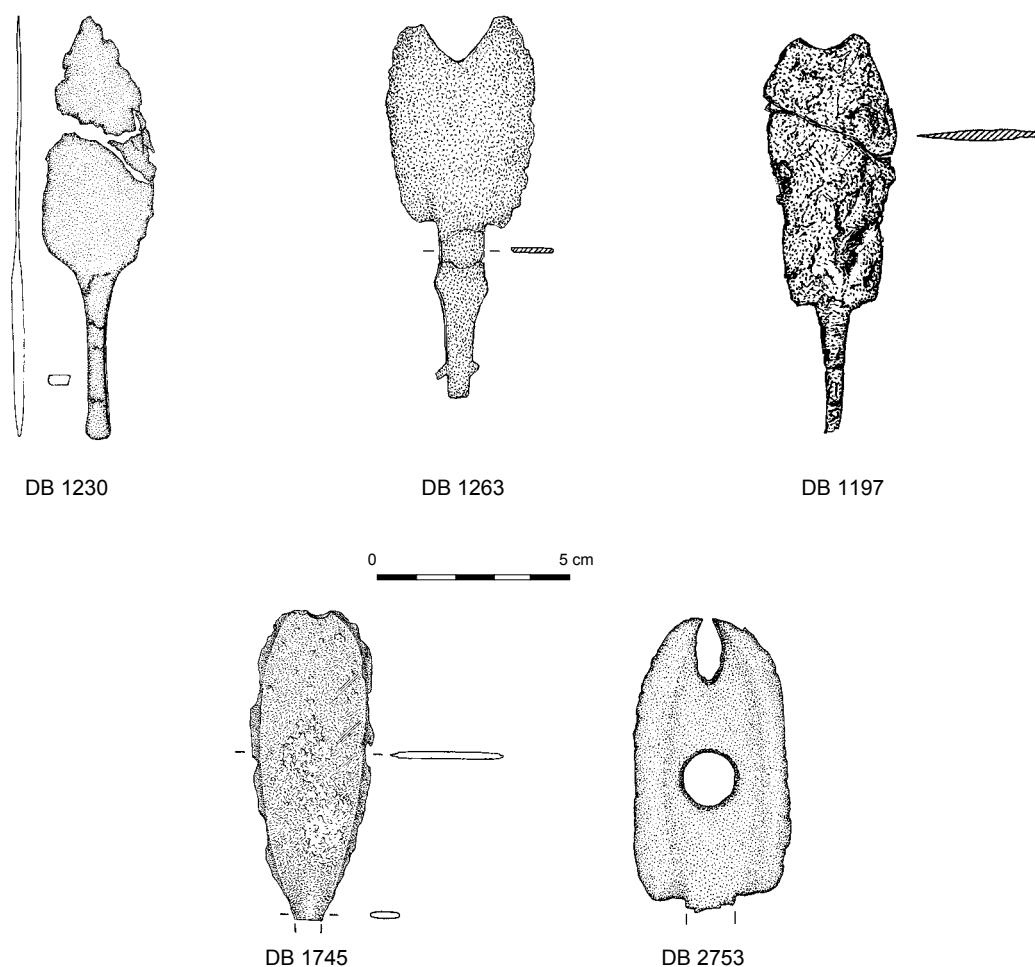


Fig. 4. Symmetrical (bifid) razors: tanged (Drawings: Groningen Institute of Archaeology / H. Steegstra). (DB 2753 after Ubaghs 1890 Pl. VI: No.34)

the Funnel Beaker Culture passage grave D42 (from the part without capstones, inside the tomb). Museum: Assen, Inv.No. 1999/IV.1.

Map reference: c. 255.04/535.32.

Reference: Van Giffen 1925: 106-108; 1927: 28-42, fig. 4; Van der Sanden 2012: 73.

Parallels: DB1230; DB1263. Similar to tanged razors of Type Hénon (Jockenhövel 1980: 58-61, Taf. 9, esp. nos. 146, 149, 151), which are found in Brittany, Normandy and southwest England (*op. cit.*, 61).

Dating: A razor of Type Hénon was part of the Rosnoën hoard, datatable to (the early part of) c. 1300-1100 BC (Butler 1989: 13; Fontijn 2003: 117).

(DB 2753) Boshoven, Gemeente Weert, Limburg. Boshover Heide.

L. +7.2 cm. Blade fragment of a symmetrical (bifid) tanged razor, with deep blade notch and blade perforation. Tang missing. Found in the 19th century near a group of urned cremations.

Map reference: c. 172.69/362.08.

References: Ubaghs 1890: 43, pl. VI No. 34; Jockenhövel 1980: 133, Taf. 24 No. 436 (Weert erroneously spelled Weerdt);

Warmenbol 1988: 253, 254 pl. 4 No. 7; Hissel 2012 (no mention of razor).

Parallels: Jockenhövel's (1980: 64-72, Taf. 10, nos. 164-175, esp. No. 174) Type Feltwell, with concentrations in southeast Britain and wider Atlantic distribution (Jockenhövel 1980, Taf. 50 A). DB1197, DB1230; DB1263 and DB1745 for tanged types. Dating: Jockenhövel (1980: 67) places Type Feltwell razors in the Dowris or carp's-tongue sword period (c. 950-800 BC).

2.3.3 Symmetrical (bifid) razors: tang-and-ring (Fig. 5)

(DB 895) Achterberg, Gemeente Rhenen, Utrecht.

L. +7.4 cm. Handle fragment of symmetrical (bifid) tang-and-ring razor. Diam. ring 2.8 cm (outside) to 2.1 cm (inside). Width of handle near (missing) blade 1.1 cm. Handle shows three ribs (or two grooves). Found in 1990 by Verhagen and Mom during construction works for development plan 'Horst/Molenweg'. Collection Museum Rhenen, not present any more; present location unknown.

Map reference: c. 168.72/442.63.

Reference: Van Tent 1990: 174.

Parallels: Similar elongated grooved/ribbed handles terminating in a ring have been found at Court-Saint-Etienne - La

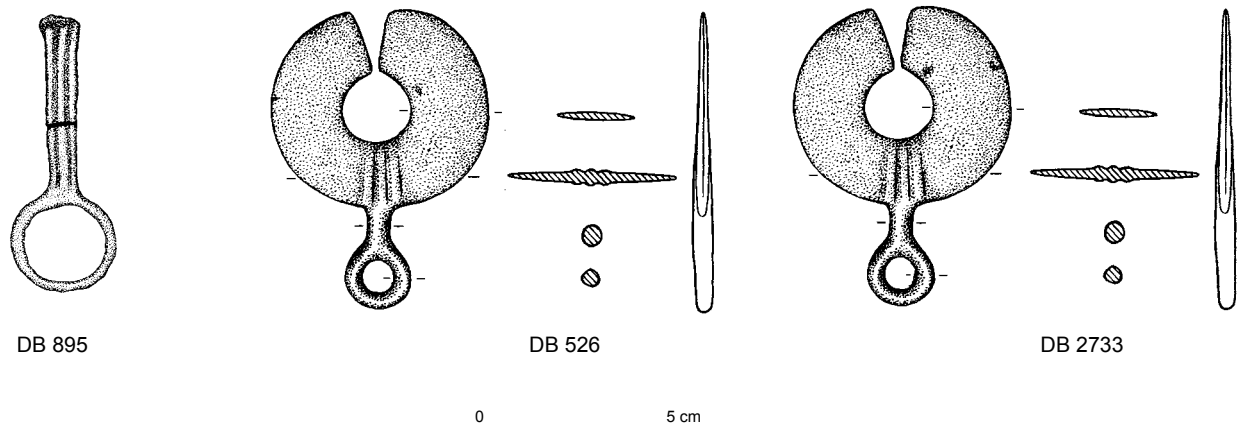


Fig. 5. Symmetrical (bifid) razors: tang and terminal ring. Drawings: Groningen Institute of Archaeology / H. Steegstra.

Ferme Rouge (Jockenhövel 1980: 140; *Taf.* 26 No. 480; Van der Vaart-Verschoof 2017: 70 fig. C16 No. 16-2). A shorter and more stout parallel is known from Bohemia and Bavaria (Jockenhövel 1971: 43-44, *Taf.* 1 nos. 11: 12 and 12a). Several examples are listed under Jockenhövel's (1980: 139-140) *Typ Havré*.

Dating: The Havré type is placed in the Early Iron Age by Jockenhövel (1980: 142). For the handle fragments from Court-Saint-Etienne - La Ferme Rouge, which were found without precise contextual information, it has been suggested (Van der Vaart-Verschoof 2017: 71) that they could fit the razor-blade fragment from Tombelle 5 of that site (*op. cit.*, 69 fig. C6.15 No. 7). This tomb was dated by the razor-blade fragment to early HaC1 (c. 800-700 BC; Van der Vaart-Verschoof 2017: 70). The examples described by Jockenhövel (1971: 43-44, *Taf.* 1 nos. 11: 12 and 12a) are described as the '*dreifach gerippte Variante*' of his *Typ Kostelec*, dated to the BrZ.D (c. 1325-1200 BC; Jockenhövel 1971: 46). Given the slender morphology, a younger (*i.e.* Ha C) dating for the Rhenen fragment is favoured here.

(DB 526 & DB 2733) Halsteren, Gemeente Bergen Op Zoom, Noord-Brabant (dealer's provenance)

L. 8 cm; w. 5.8 cm. Symmetrical (bifid) tang-and-ring objects, possibly razors. Nearly circular razor-like objects with tang-and-ring handle. Unfinished razors or pendants? Where the handle meets the blade, three ridges are placed on the blade. Not sharp(ened). Antiques dealer A. Groneman of Breda sold these in 1949 to the National Museum of Antiquities, allegedly part of a larger hoard also containing some bracelets (not acquired by the museum).

Map reference: c. 78/393.

Reference: Van der Linde 2016: 91-92.

Parallels: The morphology of the Halsteren objects is evidently related to razors (even if the Halsteren specimens are unsharpened): near-circular blades on short tangs are found with Jockenhövel's (1980, *Taf.* 14) *Zweischneidige Rasiermesser mit Vollgriff und tiefausgeschnittenem Blatt*, ribbed ornaments on the blade/handle intersection are similarly common (*e.g.*

Jockenhövel 1980: *Taf.* 14 No. 249, *Taf.* 20 No. 353, *Taf.* 21 No. 378, *Taf.* 22 nos. 395-397, 403, *Taf.* 23 No. 415, *Taf.* 24 No. 422).

Dating: The Halsteren objects appear unsharpened and more stylized versions of razors of Jockenhövel's (1971: *Taf.* 26) *Typ Nynice* and *Třebešov*, which he dates to Nynice III, or the end phase of the urnfield culture (c. 1025-800 BC; *op. cit.*, 171) and which are found in the central European upper reaches of the rivers Danube and Weser (*op. cit.*, *Taf.* 47B).

2.3.4 Symmetrical (bifid) razors: multi-ring tangs (Fig. 6)

(DB 1620) Deurne, Gemeente Deurne, Noord-Brabant (dealer's provenance).

L. 9.5 cm; w. 3.5 cm, th. blade 1.5 mm. Symmetrical (bifid) razor with multi-ring tang. Recent file-marks on back. No information on primary context available. Patina: dark bronze/dark green. Museum: RMO Leiden, Inv.No. Gt.D.11.

Map reference: c. 183/386.

References: Warmenbol 1988: 253 note 39, 254 pl. 4 No. 19; O'Connor 1980: 219; list 222 No. 1; Jockenhövel 1980: 111, *Taf.* 20 No. 352.

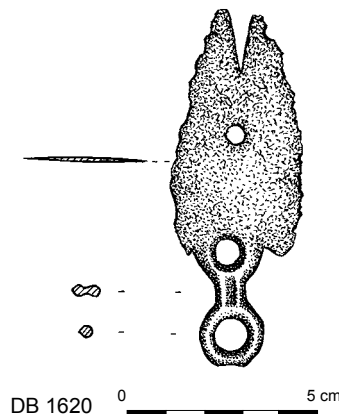


Fig. 6. Symmetrical (bifid) razors: multi-ring tang. Drawing: Groningen Institute of Archaeology.

Parallels: Razors of Jockenhövel's (1980: 109-111, *Taf.* 20) type Brentford, with an Atlantic distribution (mainly eastern France and southeastern Britain; *op. cit.*, *Taf.* 50b).

Dating: Type Brentford razors are found in the Nantes – Prairie des Mauves (Loire Maritime) and Watford (Hertfordshire) hoards, together with Ewart Park/Challans swords (Warmenbol 1988: 253). O'Connor (1980: 219) also assigns them a Ha B age, based on the associated pottery (see Desittere 1968: 71, 121). This tallies with Jockenhövel's (1980: 121) original Per. V date (c. 925-800 BC).

2.3.5 Symmetrical (bifid) razors with openwork handles (*Rahmengriff*) (Fig. 7)

(DB 2748) **Dwingelo. Gemeente Westerveld, Drenthe.** Lheeweg urnfield.

L. 13.7 cm. Symmetrical (bifid) razor with openwork (*Rahmengriff*) handle. Openwork handle (three breaks) in the form of a lozenge with a terminal ring. Diam. terminal ring 3 cm, width at lozenge 2.4 cm. Blade worn away to tapering thicker middle section. Thickness of blade 1 mm. Patina: mottled green, heavily corroded, sandy encrustation on ring. Found in 2015 in an excavation trench across an elongated c. 16 x 6 m, post-encircled urnfield barrow/long-bed. The razor was found together with a pair of tweezers (DB 2749) and a pot (*Kegelhalsterrine*) in an urn placed underneath the barrow body. The top of the urn was destroyed, but the urn still contained the cremated remains of two adult males. This is part of a larger urnfield, of which over 35 graves were uncovered c. 40 m to the northwest (Kooi 1973: 10(138)).

Map reference: c. 221.43/538.77.

Reference: Kerkhoven et al. 2017.

Parallels: DB1181; DB1234 and DB2744. The Dutch examples appear to be worn-down representatives of Jockenhövel's (1980: 92, *Taf.* 16 nos. 283-285) *Typ Schleddebrück* razors, which occur in the northern and central Netherlands and around the upper Ems (*op. cit.*, *Taf.* 48B) and upper Weser (Tackenberg 1971: 276 *Liste* 61 nos. 8-13, *Karte* 24, *Taf.* 32:6), with one outlier from Miesenheim, Kr. Mayen, in the upper Rhine area (Tackenberg 1971: 276 *Liste* 61 No. 1, *Karte* 24, No. 1).

Dating: c. 1285-1135 BC, based on AMS dating of the associated human remains. *Typ Schleddebrück* is dated by Jockenhövel (1980: 92) to the start of Ha B1 (c. 1025-925 BC), on the basis of the tanged knife in the Bargerooterveld hoard (Butler, Arnoldussen & Steegstra 2011/2012: 84-85 and fig.10: DB1180).

(DB 1181) **Bargerooterveld, Gemeente Emmen, Drenthe.** Part of the 1899 hoard.

L. 11.6 cm. Symmetrical (bifid) razor with openwork (*Rahmengriff*) handle (length of handle 6.4 cm; length of blade 5.2 cm). Openwork handle in the form of a chamfered lozenge with a terminal ring. Blade worn down to tapering thicker middle section (max. remaining width 2.2 cm, thickness 2 mm). Possibly ancient repaired cracks at handle-blade joins. Patina: matt, very dark green, almost black. Presumably found

in 1899 together with a single-edged, tanged urnfield knife DB1180 (Butler, Arnoldussen & Steegstra 2012: 85). A discoloration in this knife's patina matches the outline of the end of the DB1181 razor blade (although there is no statement in the records that they were actually found together). Purchased from C.G.J.A. van Genderen Stort, Emmen. Museum Assen, Inv.No. 1899/XI.24.

Map reference: 261.448/ 532.953.

References: Butler 1961: 104-107; 107 fig. 50; Tackenberg 1971: 276 *Liste* 61 No.8; O'Connor 1980: 154, list 119 No. 2; Jockenhövel 1980: 92 No. 284, *Taf.* 16 No. 284; Butler, Arnoldussen & Steegstra 2012: 84 fig. 10-DB1180; 85; Arnoldussen 2015: 24 table 1.

Parallels: DB1234; DB2744 and DB 2748. The Dutch examples appear to be worn-down representatives of Jockenhövel's (1980: 92, *Taf.* 16 nos. 283-285) *Typ Schleddebrück* razors, which occur in the northern and central Netherlands, and around the upper Ems (*op. cit.*, *Taf.* 48B) and upper Weser (Tackenberg 1971: 276 *Liste* 61 nos. 8-13; *Karte* 24, *Taf.* 32:6, with one outlier at Miesenheim, Kr. Mayen, in the upper Rhine area (Tackenberg 1971: 276 *Liste* 61 No. 1; *Karte* 24, No. 1).

Dating: *Typ Schleddebrück* is dated by Jockenhövel (1980: 92) to the start of Ha B1 (c. 1025-925 BC), on the basis of the tanged knife in the Bargerooterveld hoard (found with razor DB1181).

(DB 1234) **Weerdingerweg, Gemeente Emmen, Drenthe.** Wolfsbergen.

L. 14.5 cm. Symmetrical (bifid) razor with openwork (*Rahmengriff*) handle (L. 7.2 cm) in the form of a chamfered lozenge with a terminal ring. Blade 7.3 cm long (max. width 4.7 cm) with a very faint midridge and wide, shallow, angular blade notch and originally straight sides (since worn down to hourglass shape). Junction of handle and blade emphasized by cast-in triangular ridges. Patina: dark green to blackish, in part glossy; well-preserved. Sandy encrustation on ring. Found in or before June 1930 between Emmen and Weerdinger by a forester digging a posthole in a low heather-covered sand dune, c. 1.25 m beneath the surface, in anciently disturbed sand (Butler 1961: 109). The findspot was later found to be situated within the Weerdinger urnfield, excavated in 1956 (also known as Wolfsbergen; Pleyte 1880: 17; Kooi 1979: 101 fig. 96). Museum: Assen, Inv.No. 1930/VI.2 (donated by F.W. Malsch, forester for Staatsbosbeheer, Houtvesterij Emmen).

Map reference: c. 257.4/536.2.

References: Butler 1960: 213 (39) fig. 11; Butler 1961: 108-109; 103 fig. 47 (small circle), 108 fig. 51; Tackenberg 1971: 276 *Liste* 61 No. 9; Jockenhövel 1980: 92 No. 283; *Taf.* 16 No. 283; Kooi 1979: 96-104; 102 fig. 97; O'Connor 1980: 154, list 119 No. 4; Drenth & Groenendijk 2009: 199.

Parallels: DB1181; DB2744 and DB 2748. The Weerdingerweg razor may represent a less worn version of Jockenhövel's (1980: 92; *Taf.* 16 nos. 283-285) *Typ Schleddebrück* razors, which occur in the northern and central Netherlands and around the upper Ems (*op. cit.*, *Taf.* 48B) and upper Weser (Tackenberg 1971: 276 *Liste* 61 nos. 8-13; *Karte* 24, *Taf.* 32:6

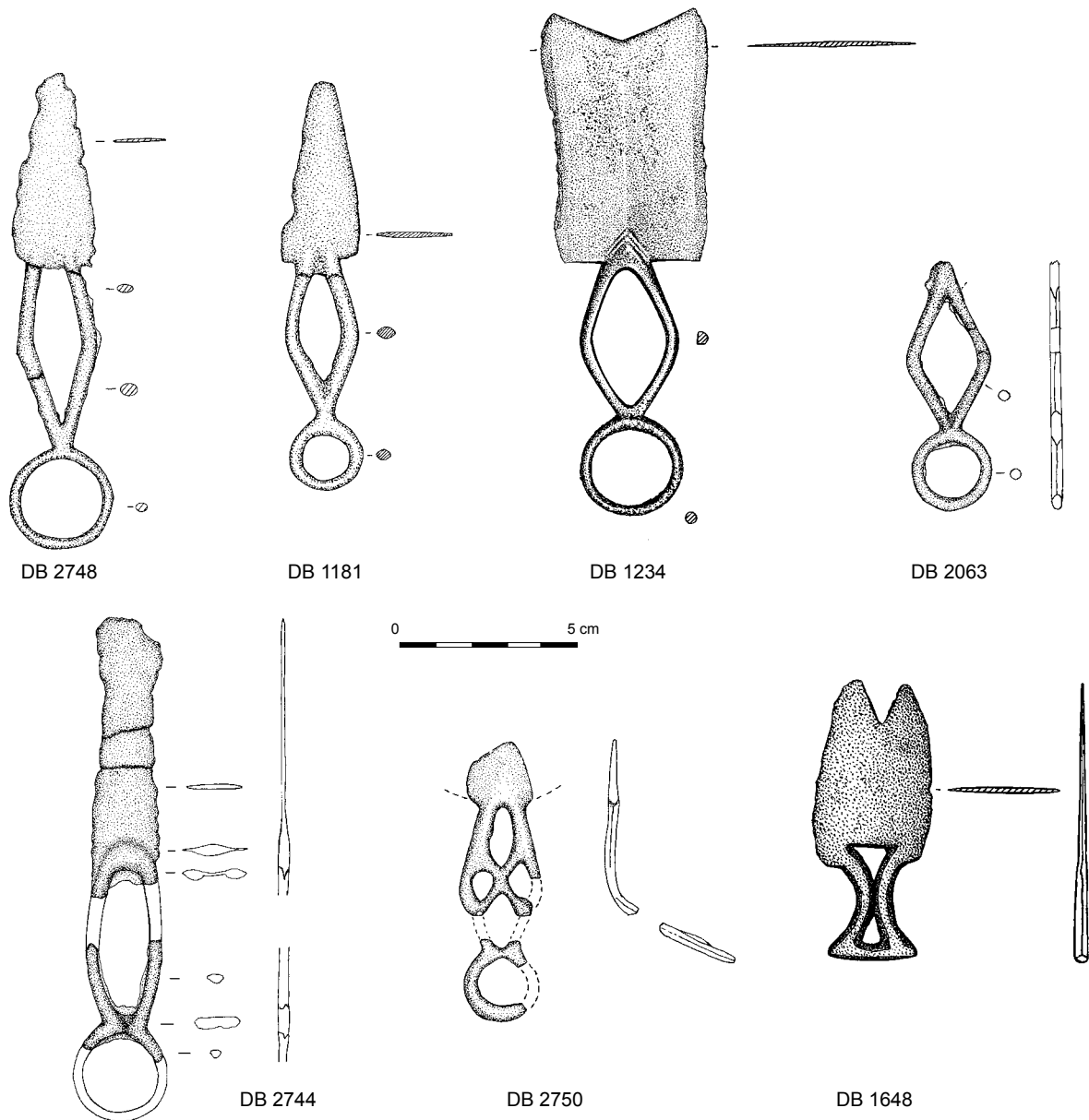


Fig. 7. Symmetrical (bifid) razors with openwork handles (Rahmengriff). Drawings: Groningen Institute of Archaeology / H. Steegstra. (DB 2744 after Ypey 1962/1963: 190 afb. 3A; DB 2750 after Dyselinck 2013: 96-97, fig. 3.26.).

with one outlier; Miesenheim, Kr. Mayen, known from the upper Rhine area; *op. cit.*, 276 Liste 61 No. 1; Karte 24, No. 1).

Dating: The Weerdingerweg razor is dated to LBA2 (c. 1125-975 BC) by O'Connor (1980: 154) and the start of the *Jungurnenfelderzeit* (Ha B1, c. 1025-925) by Jockenhövel (1980: 92).

(DB 2063) Albergen, Gemeente Tubbergen, Overijssel. Monnikenbraak.

L. +7.2 cm. Handle of a symmetrical (bifid) razor with openwork (Rahmengriff) handle. Openwork handle in the form of a chamfered lozenge with a terminal ring. Blade missing; cross-section of lozenge pointed-oval, terminal ring round in cross-section. Patina: bluish light green, partly glossy, not burnt. The razor (handle) was found in 1964 by H. Vos in

the spoilheap of the excavation of a cremation grave placed centrally or decentrally on the old podzolic surface beneath a sod-built barrow. Presumably it originated from or near the cremation grave (descriptive filing card by A. Verlinde). Museum Enschede, Inv.No. 714.

Map reference: 249.64/498.46.

Reference: Verlinde 1980: 132 (126); 138(132) Abb. 75 No. 530; 139(133) No. 530.

Parallels: DB1181; DB1234 and DB2748. The handle may have been part of a *Typ Schleddebrück* razor (Jockenhövel 1980: 92; Taf. 16 nos. 283-285), commonly found in the northern and central Netherlands, and around the upper Ems (*op. cit.*, Taf. 48B) and upper Weser (Tackenberg 1971: 276 Liste 61 nos. 8-13, Karte 24, Taf. 32:6).

Dating: *Typ Schledebrück* is dated by Jockenhövel (1980: 92) to the start of Ha B1 (c. 1025-925 BC).

(DB 2744) Opheusden, Gemeente Neder-Betuwe, Gelderland. Merovingian hoard.

L. (restored) 14.5 cm. Two fragments of a symmetrical (bifid) razor with openwork (*Rahmengriff*) handle. Openwork handle (l. c. 7 cm) in the form of an ovoid loop and terminal ring. Maximum remaining width of very worn blade 1.7 cm. Patina: mottled green. Found inside a Merovingian pot (*Knickwandtopf*) that contained silver Roman coins, as well as Late Bronze Age finds: the razor, an undecorated bronze arm-ring and a bronze pin (*Kugelkopfnadel*). Museum: Rhenen, Inv. No. Ac 7.

Map reference: c. 171/438.

References: Ypey 1962/1963: 187-191, 190 afb. 3A; Jockenhövel 1980: 89 No. 270, *Taf.* 71G; O'Connor 1980: 91, list 48 No. 2 (erroneously listed as "Opheusden Drenthe").

Parallels: DB1181; DB1234; DB2744 and DB 2748. Jockenhövel (1980: 89 No. 270) grouped the Opheusden razor fragments with his *Typ Obermenzing* (*op. cit.*, 88-91), but the Opheusden fragments could equally be a very worn-down version of a *Typ Schledebrück* razor (Jockenhövel 1980: 92), whose blade outline and handle shape are matched by various *Typ Obermenzing* razors (*op. cit.*, 88-91; *Taf.* 15-16).

Dating: Late Bronze Age, according to Ypey (1962/1963: 191). Jockenhövel's (1980: 88-91) *Typ Obermenzing* (*op. cit.*, 88-91) is dated to the *Mittleren Urnenfelderzeit* (Ha A2, c. 1125-1025 BC), but if the Opheusden fragments represent what remains of a *Typ Schledebrück*, a younger Ha B1 (c. 1025-925 BC; Jockenhövel 1980: 92) dating may be justified.

(DB 2750) Amby, Gemeente Maastricht, Limburg. Ambyerveld-Hagerhof.

L. +7.5 cm. Fragments (handle and part of blade) of a symmetrical (bifid) razor with openwork (*Rahmengriff*) handle. Width of handle 2.5 cm, th. 0.3 cm. The bronze is brittle and bent due to exposure to fire (on the pyre?). Found during excavation of the Maastricht - Ambyerveld urnfield (Dyselink & Warmenbol 2012) in feature 72 (grave U10, finds No. 82). This urned cremation grave also contained a fragment of a single-edged socketed knife (Dyselink & Warmenbol 2012: 59; Butler, Arnoldussen & Steegstra 2012: 73 No. 108).

Map reference: c. 179.2/319.6.

References: Dyselink & Warmenbol 2012: 59, 61 fig. 1; Dyselink 2013: 96-97, fig. 3.26.

Parallels: Razors with x-shaped openwork handles (*X-förmiger Griffverstrebung*) are classified by Jockenhövel (1980: 100-101, *Taf.* 17 Nos. 306-309) as *Variante Dietzenbach*, which appears common in the Upper Rhine areas of Neckar, Main and Moselle (Jockenhövel 1980: *Taf.* 49A; cf. Sandars 1957: 172 fig. 42).

Dating: Dyselink & Warmenbol (2012: 61) assume a Ha A2/B1 (c. 1125-925 BC) production date for the Amby razor. The socketed knife fragment from the same grave was dated to Ha B3 (c. 925-800; *op. cit.*, 59), suggesting a 9th-century BC deposition date for the associated razor. *Variante Dietzenbach*

is dated to Ha A2 (*mittelurnenfelderzeitlich*, c. 1125-1025 BC; Jockenhövel 1980: 101).

(DB 1648) Goirle, Gemeente Goirle, Noord-Brabant.

L. 8.1 cm. Symmetrical (bifid) razor with openwork (*Rahmengriff*) handle. Leaf-shaped (w. 3.25 cm; th. blade 2 mm) double-edged blade with V-notch and openwork handle of hourglass shape. Patina: mottled green. Found by Mr. Bekkers in an urn (Inv.No. k1924/10.3) containing cremated remains and an accessory vessel (Inv.No. k.1924/10.1) at the urnfield along the Rielse Dijk, west of Goirle, in the area adjacent to that excavated by A.E. Remouchamps (then curator of the National Museum of Antiquities (RMO). Museum: RMO Leiden, Inv.No. k.1924/10.2 (purchased from finder through mediation of E.J. von Puyenbroek of Goirle).

Map reference: c. 132/392.

References: Remouchamps 1926: 47 No. 53-5; Verwers 1966: 41 fig. 7 No. 55; Jockenhövel 1980: 94 No. 295; *Taf.* 16 No. 295; O'Connor 1980: 219, list 222 No. 2; Desittere 1968: 65 Abb. 49 nos. 5-7.

Parallels: None. O'Connor (1980, 219) compares this razor to those found in Azay-le-Rideau (Indre-et-Loire) and Chedigny (Indre-et-Loire), but these most probably represent multi-ring tang handles.

Dating: Bronze Final III (c. 1025-800 BC; O'Connor 1980: 219; Jockenhövel 1980: 94) on the basis of the acute angle of the blade notch.

2.3.6 Asymmetrical ship-shaped (Nordic) razors (Fig. 8)

(DB 1292) Drouwen, Gemeente Borger en Odoorn, Drenthe. Stone packing in urnfield, 1939.

L. 10.7 cm. Single-edged (asymmetrical) ship-shaped razor, with curved blade (w. 2.1 cm; th. 1 mm) and backward-curving S-shaped handle of round cross-section. Patina: dark green. The razor originated from one of a pair of terrine-shaped urns with strap handles (*zweiheknliche Terrinen*) placed together under a stone packing amidst circular urnfield monuments, found during the urnfield excavations by A.E. van Giffen in 1939 (Kooi 1979: 92 fig. 87 No. 8 for location). The smaller of the two urns contained the razor (DB1292) and a pair of tweezers (DB1293). Museum Assen, Inv.No. 1939/XII.8-4.

Map reference: c. 249.18,552.82.

References: Van Giffen 1943: 482-483, afb. 45a-b; Butler 1969: 80, fig. 35, Pl. 30; Kooi 1979: 90-96, 94 fig. 89; O'Connor 1980: 220; list 225 No. 2; Jockenhövel 1980: 157 No. 572; *Taf.* 30 No. 572.

Parallels: DB1373 and DB1380. The Drouwen razor is classified by Jockenhövel (1980: 157; *Taf.* 30 nos. 565-576) as his *Variante II* of the single-edged razors with s-shaped handles (*einschneidige Rasiermesser mit S-förmigem Griff*), which are current in Schleswig-Holstein, Niedersachsen (Tackenberg 1996: 77 Karte 27) and Denmark (Baudou 1960, Karte 21).

Dating: Per. IV (c. 1125-925 BC; O'Connor 1980: 222) on the basis of the associations. Given the associated *zweiheknliche Terrine*, probably Late Bronze Age (c. 1100-900 BC, cf. Van den

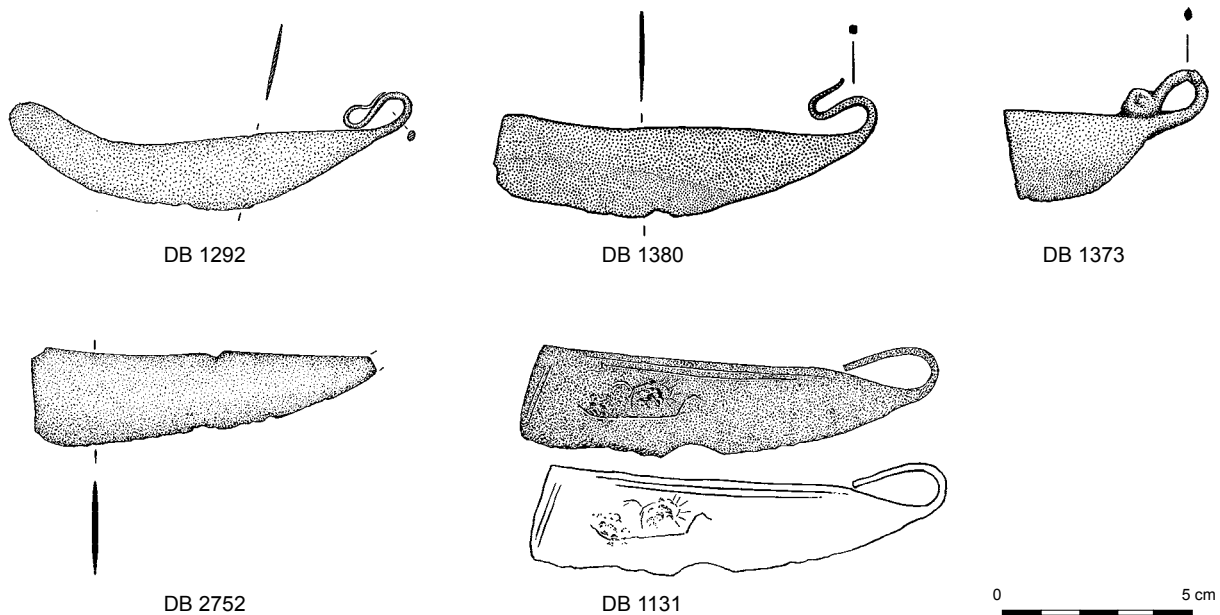


Fig. 8. Asymmetrical ship-shaped (Nordic) razors. Drawings: Groningen Institute of Archaeology / H. Steegstra.

Broeke 2005: 610 fig. 27.8; Scheele 2016: 85 tab. 2) in date. The grave of Wittenhusen (Kr. Minden-Lübecke, Nordrhein Westfalen) contained in an urn a razor almost identical to that of Drouwen (Jockenhövel 1980: Taf. 30 No. 574) and a socketed knife dated to Ha B3 (c. 925-800 BC; Jockenhövel 1980: 157).

(DB 1380) Harenermolen, Gemeente Haren, Groningen.
Tum. II / De Tip - 4a.

L. 10.3 cm. Single-edged (asymmetrical) ship-shaped razor, with S-shaped handle of square cross-section. Blade back straight (1.5 mm), remaining width 2.4 cm. Cutting edge in parts damaged, in other parts showing traces of being sharpened (from one face only). Patina: mottled dark green and black; well preserved. Excavated in 1922 by A.E. van Giffen as a secondary interment into the third mound period of the Harenermolen barrow (starting in the Late Neolithic; Van Giffen 1930: pl. 28; Lanting 1979: 184, 193-194, 200 fig. 5.3). The razor was found with cremated remains inside an urn with two handles (*Zweiheuklige terrine*; Inv.No. 1922/V.4) datable to the Late Bronze Age (cf. Van den Broeke 2005: 610 fig. 27.8; Scheele 2016: 85 tab. 2), which was closed with an inverted accessory cup (*Henkelgefäss*; Inv.No. 1922/V.4b). Museum: Groningen, Inv.No. 1922/V.4a (stolen in 1970).

Map reference: c. 237.96/574.97.

References: Van Giffen 1923: 52-61; Van Giffen 1930: Taf. 34/Abb. 29 No. 4a; Tackenberg 1963: 11 Liste 1a No. 1, 14 Karte 1; Jockenhövel 1980: 157 No. 568, Taf. 30 No. 568; O'Connor 1980: 220, list 225 No. 4; Lanting 1979: 181-207.

Parallels: DB1373 and DB1292. The Harenermolen 4a razor is classified by Jockenhövel (1980: 157) as his *Variante I* of the single-edged razors with s-shaped handles (*einschneidige Rasiermesser mit S-förmigem Griff*; op. cit., Taf. 30 nos. 565-576) which are prevalent in Schleswig-Holstein, Niedersachsen

(Tackenberg 1996: 77 Karte 27) and Denmark (Baudou 1960, Karte 21).

Dating: Late Bronze Age, c. 1150-850 BC, based on dates for *zweiheuklige Terrinen*. Jockenhövel (1980: 159) dates *Variante I* of the *einschneidige Rasiermesser mit S-förmigem Griff* to Per. IV (c. 1125-925 BC, cf. O'Connor 1980: 220).

(DB 1373) Harenermolen, Gemeente Haren, Groningen.
Tum. II / De Tip - 1a.

L. +5.5 cm. Part of a single-edged (asymmetrical) ship-shaped razor, with a spiral-shaped handle of elongated hexagonal cross-section. Handle's spiral fused/cast onto blade. Blade width 2.4 cm; thickness 1.5 mm. Excavated in 1922 by A.E. van Giffen as a secondary interment into the period-3 mound of the Harenermolen barrow (started in the Late Neolithic; Van Giffen 1930: pl. 28; Lanting 1979: 184, 193-194, 200 fig. 5.3). The razor was found with cremated remains inside a straight-necked urn (*Cylinderhalsgefäss*; Inv.No. 1922.V1). Museum: Groningen, Inv.No. 1922/V.1a.

Map reference: c. 237.96/574.97.

References: Van Giffen 1930: Taf. 34/Abb. 29 No. 1b; Glasbergen 1957: pl. X No. 1; Tackenberg 1963: 12 Liste 6a No. 1; 1971: 143; Jockenhövel 1980: 162 No. 596, Taf. 31 No. 596; O'Connor 1980: 220, list 225 No. 5.

Parallels: DB1380 and DB1292 for generic type. The particular handle type is classified by Jockenhövel (1980: 162-164) as *Variante IV* (*mit eingegossener Spirale*) of his *Rasiermesser mit Spiralgriff*, for which five parallels from Nordrhein-Westfalen are known (op. cit., 162-163; Taf. 31, cf. Aschemeyer 1961: 81 Taf. 6A No. 5). Jockenhövel (1980: 164) characterized their distribution as not extending west of the rivers Hunte and Rhine (cf. Sprockhoff 1956: Karte 18D; Baudou 1960: Karte 22).

Dating: Based on the razor, Per. V (c. 925-800 BC; Baudou 1960: 34; Jockenhövel 1980: 163; O'Connor 1980: 220). For the associated *Cylinderhals* urn, a Ha B date is plausible (c. 1025-800 BC; Van den Broeke 2005: 610 fig. 27.8).

(DB 2752) Sleen, Gemeente Coevorden, Drenthe. Near the church.

L. 9.2 cm. Blade fragment of single-edged (asymmetrical) ship-shaped razor. Remaining blade width 2.6 cm, presumably (given the blade shape) it originally had a narrow (S-shaped?) handle (now missing). Found during excavation by A.E. van Giffen in 1947 and 1948 of the Sleen urnfield, situated directly northeast of Sleen's churchyard (Kooi 1979: 52 fig. 43 for location). Found slightly off-centre in the round part of a key-hole-shaped grave, together with cremated remains and several sherds of a terrine-like vessel. Museum Assen, Inv.No. Inv. No. 1948/III.60.

Map reference: c. 250.6/533.1.

Reference: Kooi 1979: 26-55, 85 fig. 49 No. 60; 189 No. 60.

Parallels: DB1292, DB1373 and DB1380. Given the blade form (tapering towards the handle) it fits Jockenhövel's (1980: 154-165) groups of *Einschneidige Rasiermesser* of Nordic affinity (*op. cit.*, Karte 27-28).

Dating: Per. IV-V? (c. 1125-750). Key-hole shaped funerary monuments elsewhere are dated to c. 1210-790 cal. BC (Lanting & Van der Plicht 2003: 214-215; Arnoldussen & Albers 2015: 154).

(DB 1131) Sittard, Gemeente Sittard-Geleen, Limburg.

L. 11.4 cm. Single-edged (asymmetrical) ship-shaped razor. Iron blade with straight back, blade width 2.7 cm and handle of square cross-section curved backwards towards the blade. The blade shows incised ornamentation: two lines along the back and front of the blade as well as a simple, rather crude 'ship' pattern, above which is a mushroom-shaped 'sail/tree' motif and part of a rayed 'sun' motif (Roest 1952: 51, albeit that it may also form part of the mushroom-shaped motif (*cf.* Kaul 1998a, 193 fig. 126). Irregular, sharp punch marks appear to overlie/have damaged the decoration. Patina: rust-coloured, currently (after treatment) greyish-green. Reportedly found in 1950 by the caretaker of the Sittard Museum of Antiquities, in spoil heaps from the installation of new gas mains at the Marijkelaan, on the edge of the Bergehof premises. Museum Sittard, Inv.No.7860.

Map reference: c. 188.62/333.52.

References: Glazema 1951: 2; afb. 5; Roes 1952: 50 fig. 1; Tackenberg 1971: 279 *Liste* 69 No. 15; O'Connor 1980: 221, list 225 No. 7; Jockenhövel 1980: 164 No. 604, *Taf.* 32 No. 604.

Parallels: DB1292, DB1373 and DB1380. It is placed amongst Jockenhövel's (1980: 164) *Rasiermesser mit zurückgebogenem, drahtförmigem Griff-fortsatz, Variante I*, which lists several examples from Nordrhein-Westfalen (*op. cit.*, *Taf.* 32 nos. 603; 605-606). Baudou (1960, Karte 20) shows that similar razors cluster in northern Jutland. With respect to the iconography, similar – but much more elaborate and detailed – scenes with the 'sail/tree' mushroom-shaped motif (Kaul 1998a: 188-195)

and radiant sun motifs (*op. cit.*, 195-209) on ships are found on the Honum (Kaul 1998b: 111 No. 275), Abkær (*op. cit.*, 136 No. 335) and Vandling/Nustrup razors (*op. cit.*, 137 No. 339). Remarkably, not a single other iron Nordic razor is known, which – in combination with the crude design and "wrong" positioning of the ship's keel (*viz.* towards the blade's edge) and peculiar find history, leads Kaul (1998a: 227) to suggest it is a local imitation or a 1950s forgery.

Dating: Stylistically datable to the end of Per. IV (Kaul 1998a: 227) or Per. V (O'Connor 1980: 221; Jockenhövel 1980: 165).

2.3.7 Asymmetrical ship-shaped derivative (nordic) razors (Fig. 9)

(DB 1309) Drouwen, Gemeente Borger en Odoorn, Drenthe. 1941 Urnfield.

L. 10.2 cm. Asymmetrical ship-shape derivative (Nordic) razor. Blade gradually widening to 2.4 cm width (th. 1 mm) from a 1-1.4 cm wide, rounded handle/tang. Patina: grey-green. Found during excavation of the Drouwen urnfield by A.E. van Giffen in 1941. Found inside an urn with two strap handles and elongated conical neck (*Kegelhalsurn*; Inv.No. 1941/V.57a1) with five incised lines at the pot shoulder. Inside the urn, cremated remains and the razor (DB1309) were found. Museum: Assen, Inv.No. 1941/V.57a2.

Map reference: c. 249.11/552.76.

References: Sprockhoff 1956b, Karte 20 No. 60; Van Giffen 1943: 98; afb. 5 No. 57; Kooi 1979: 95 fig. 90; O'Connor 1980: 220; list 225 No. 2; Jockenhövel 1980: 168-169 no 630; *Taf.* 33 No. 630.

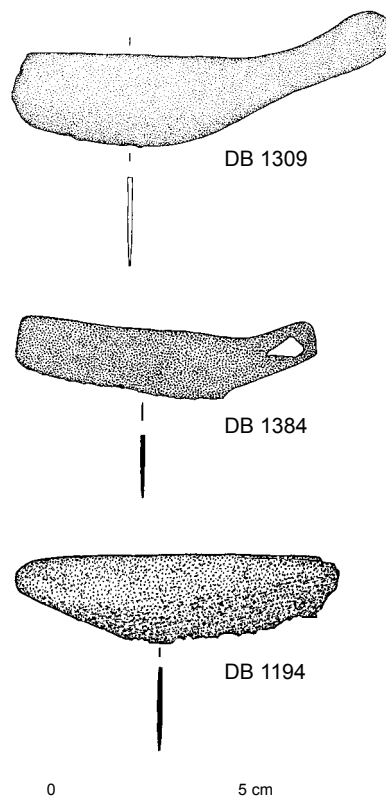


Fig. 9. Asymmetrical ship-shaped derivative (Nordic) razors. Drawings: Groningen Institute of Archaeology / H. Steegstra.

Parallels: The Drouwen DB1309 razor falls within Jockenhövel's (1980: 168-169; Taf. 33 nos. 623-628) type of *Einschneidige nordische Rasiermesser mit breitem, rechteckigem bis abgerundet-dreieckigem Griff*), which are common to Denmark, southern Sweden and the north-German lowlands (Jockenhövel 1980: 169, cf. Tackenberg 1996: 81 Karte 27).

Dating: The razor type is dated by Jockenhövel (1980: 169) to Per. V (c. 925-800 cal BC), which tallies well with the assumed Ha B1 age-range for the *Kegelhalsurn* (cf. Van den Broeke 2005: 610 fig. 27.8; Lanting & Van der Plicht 2003: 249 fig. 8 No. 18).

(DB 1384) Wedderveen, Gemeente Westerwolde, Groningen.

L. 8 cm. Asymmetrical ship-shaped derivative (Nordic) razor, with an as-cast looped handle (*Ösengriff*). Width of blade 1.8 cm. Found in 1943 during a rescue excavation by A.E. van Giffen of an urnfield cemetery with keyhole-shaped graves, a long-bed barrow and graves with circular ditches (Van Giffen & Waterbolk 1949, pl. 15). Found in the southern part of the urnfield, in a large biconical urn (with impressions of emmer wheat; op. cit., 95), that – in addition to the cremated remains – also contained the razor (DB1384) as well as a pin (DB1385; Inv.No. 1943/III.32b). No ring-ditch was present around grave 32 (flat grave). Museum Groningen, Inv.No. 1943/III.32A.

Map reference: c. 267.82/567.54.

References: Van Giffen & Waterbolk 1949: 114 No. 141, abb. 15 No. 32; Tackenberg 1963: 13 Liste 11a No. 1, Karte 8; Jockenhövel 1980: 166 No. 609, Taf. 32 No. 609; O'Connor 1980: 221, list 225 No. 6; Drenth & Groenendijk 2009: 183-184 (no mention of razor).

Parallels: The Wedderveen razor fits within Jockenhövel's (1980: 166-168, Taf. 32 nos. 611-613: 615-620) group of *Einschneidige Rasiermesser mit Ösengriff*, that are common in Schleswich-Hollstein and Nordrhein-Westfalen (Jockenhövel 1980: 167, cf. Tackenberg 1996: 79 Karte 28) and less frequent in Jutland (cf. Baudou 1960, Karte 20).

Dating: The *Einschneidige Rasiermesser mit Ösengriff* are dated by Jockenhövel (1980: 167, cf. O'Connor 1980: 221) to Per. V (c. 925-750 BC) albeit that both Baudou (1960: 32) and Van Giffen & Waterbolk (1949: 114) allow for an earlier (transitional Per. IV/V; c. 1025-900 BC) dating. The associated pin with conical head (DB1385) is similar to Laux's (1976: 117-118, Taf. 39 nos. 672-678) *Scheibenkopfnadel der Varianten Langen*, dateable to Ha A2-B1 (c. 1125-925 BC, Laux 1976: 118). For the biconical urn, an Ha B age seems plausible (Van den Broeke 2005: 610 fig. 27.8; Lanting & Van der Plicht 2003: 254-255).

(DB 1194) Wolfsbergen, Gemeente Emmen, Drenthe. "t Slag van Kooiker".

L. +8.5 cm. Fragment of asymmetrical razor. Tapering at one end, the other end is missing. Remaining blade width 2.5 cm. Found inside a biconical urn that – in addition to the razor fragment (DB1194) and cremated remains – contained two whetstones made from sandstone and a decorated accessory cup (Assen Inv.Nos 1911/VIII-1: 1a, c-d). The location is identified as 't Slag van Kooiker', which means "Kooiker's field". Museum: Assen, Inv.No. 1911/VIII-1b.

Map reference: c. 257.4/536.2.

References: Butler 1969: 79 afb. 34; Jockenhövel 1980: 170 No. 640, Taf. 33 No 640, Taf. 82F.

Parallels: Razor too fragmentary to allow comparison. For the conical (waisted) whetstones, a good parallel is found in the grave of Albersloh (Aschemeyer 1961: 32, 76 Taf. 1A; Jockenhövel 1980: 157 No. 573, Taf. 80A), which contained similarly shaped (waisted) sandstone whetstones. The decorated accessory cup (Inv.No 1911/8-1a, now lost) displays affinity to vessels of the central- and southern-Netherlands Late Bronze Age urnfield culture (cf. Brunsting & Verwers 1975: 27 fig. 3, 29 fig. 5; Verlinde 1987: 254 Abb. 128, 257).

Dating: According to Jockenhövel (1980: 170) only a rough dating to Per. IV und V (c. 1125-750 BC) is possible for the razor. For the biconical urn, a Ha A2-B1 date seems plausible (Van den Broeke 2005: 610 fig. 27.8; Lanting & Van der Plicht 2003: 254-255). The Albersloh grave is dated to Per. V (Aschemeyer 1961: 7, 32).

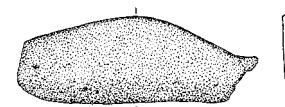
2.3.8 Asymmetrical trapezoid razors (Fig. 10)

(DB 2740) Noordbarge, Gemeente Emmen, Drenthe. Urnfield Hoge Loo, urn 484.

L. 9.8 cm. Iron, asymmetrical hump-backed trapezoid razor. Blade width 4 cm. Patina: iron corrosion. Found amidst cremation remains placed inside an urn with roughcast belly, smoothened shoulder and fingertip-decorated rim (*Harpstedter Rautopf*; v484), outside of which a cup with strap handle was found (*Henkelgefäss*, v484a; Kooi 1979: 29 fig. 19). This cremation grave is situated near the centre of a funerary structure 10 m in diameter, surrounded by an in parts 2 m wide ditch (Arnoldussen & Albers 2015: 159 fig. 6; Kooi 1979: 15



DB 2740



DB 2731



DB 2742



Fig. 10. Asymmetrical trapezoid razors. Drawings: Groningen Institute of Archaeology / H. Steegstra. (DB 2742 from Verlinde 1987.)

fig. 8), interpreted by Kooi (1979: 17) as a 'conspicuous' monument, possibly for a tribal chief. Museum Assen, Inv.No. 1972/XI. 179.

Map reference: c. 256.8/532.7.

References: Kooi 1979: 18; 20; 29 fig. 19; 42 fig. 32 No. 484b; Arnoldussen & Albers 2015: 159.

Parallels: According to Kooi (1979: 18), the razor's blade is comparable to finds from Breddorf, Kr. Zeven (Müller-Brauel 1932: 451) and Latdorf, Kr. Bernburg (Nüglisch & Schröter 1968, fig. 3), both associated with pottery of the Jastorf culture (Kooi 1979: 18). The Noordbarge razor typologically (albeit in iron rather than bronze) fits Jockenhövel's (1970: 231-232, Taf. 36 nos. 538-544) group of *Einschneidige Halbmondrasiermesser ohne Griff*, that concentrate in the *palafitte* region (*op. cit.*, 232, cf. Jockenhövel 1980: Taf. 54A).

Dating: Vessels in Harpstedt style are generally dated to the Early Iron Age (c. 800-600 BC: Brunsting & Verwers 1975: 67; Van den Broeke 2005: 610 fig. 27.8; Lanting & Van der Plicht 2003: 257-258). *Einschneidige Halbmondrasiermesser ohne Griff* are dated by Jockenhövel (1971: 236) to Per. V (c. 925-750 BC).

(DB 2731) Oss, *Gemeente Oss, Noord-Brabant*. Chieftain's grave.

L. 6.4 cm. Iron asymmetrical razor. Discovered in 1963 during restoration of a corroded cluster of iron artefacts from inside the bronze situla that was interred in the famous Chieftain's Grave of Oss, and that – in addition to the cremated remains – held various (textile-wrapped) artefacts. The incomplete state and severe corrosion rendered its identification as a razor difficult (originally two iron objects were interpreted as razor fragments; Van der Vaart-Verschoof 2017: 188). Amongst the many other artefacts in this grave (see Van der Vaart-Verschoof 2017: 180-194 for full inventory), a *Mindelheim* sword (forged into a circle), bronze and iron horsegear, two bronze pins (*Hohlkugelkopfnadeln*), yoke and wagon components of bronze and iron, textiles, an iron tanged knife, an iron socketed axe and a flat stone were found. Museum: National Museum of Antiquities (RMO) Inv.No. k 1933/7.10d.

Map reference: c. 167.417/416.045.

References: Fokkens & Jansen 2004: 58, 61; Van der Vaart-Verschoof 2017: 176-198; 178 fig. C26.1 No. 28.

Parallels: -

Dating: Early to Middle Iron Age, according to the radiocarbon dating of the cremated remains (c. 790-540 BC, GrA-55551: 2500 ± 30BP), while the artefact typology favours a dating in the early 8th century BC (Van der Vaart-Verschoof 2017: 195).

(DB 2742) Losser, *Gemeente Losser, Overijssel*. De Oelemars.

L. +3.3 cm. Fragment of an iron razor amidst the cremation remains placed into a Harpstedt urn (Verlinde 1987: 216 urn 202). Found in 1974 during sand extraction. Provinciaal depot Overijssel RMT 1975-10.

Map reference: c. 267.4/476.1.

Reference: Verlinde 1987: 216.

Parallels: Verlinde (1987: 184) states that similar razors are found in Niedersachsen in graves dating from Ha D (Tackenberg 1934: 5), and they are also found in Ha D and LT A graves in the Hunsrück-Eifel Kultur (Haffner 1976: 29).

Dating: Early Iron Age (c. 800-600 BC), based on the Harpstedt pot (Brunsting & Verwers 1975: 67; Van den Broeke 2005: 610 fig. 27.8; Lanting & Van der Plicht 2003: 257-258). A younger Hallstatt D (c. 625-480 BC) dating for such iron razors is possible (Verlinde 1987: 184, 216).

2.3.9 Possible razor fragments of indeterminate type (Fig. 11)

(DB 1377) Harenermolen, *Gemeente Haren, Groningen*.

Tum. II / De Tip – 3b.

L. 2.7 cm. Possible blade fragment of a (Nordic?) razor. Remaining width 1.2 cm, thickness 0.8 mm. Patina: green. Excavated in 1922 by A.E. van Giffen as a secondary interment into the period-3 mound of the Harenermolen barrow (started in the Late Neolithic; Van Giffen 1930: pl. 28; Lanting 1979: 184, 193-194, 199, 200 fig. 5 No. 2). It was found with a possible tattooing awl (DB1376, Lanting 1979: 198) in an urn with two handles (*Zweiheuklige terrine*) datable to the Late Bronze Age (cf. Van den Broeke 2005: 610 fig. 27.8; Scheele 2016: 85

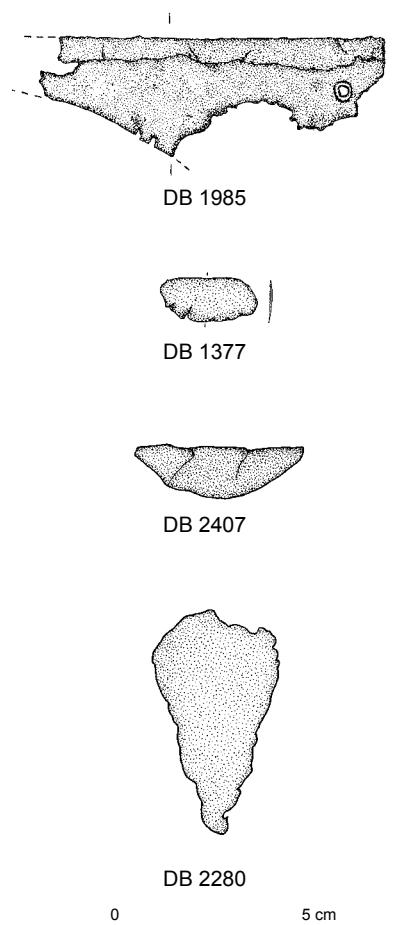


Fig. 11. Possible razor fragments of indeterminate type. Drawings: Groningen Institute of Archaeology / H. Steegstra.

tab. 2), which was closed with a large part of a bowl (Lanting 1979: 202 pl. 5). Museum Groningen, Inv.No. 1922/V.3b.

Map reference: c. 237.96/574.97.

References: Van Giffen 1923: 54; 1930, *Taf.* 34/*Abb.* 29; Lanting 1979: 193-194; 198-199; 200 fig. 5 No. 3.

Parallels: -

Dating: Late Bronze Age, c. 1150-850 BC, based on dates for *zweiheklige Terrinen*.

(DB 1985) Dwingeloo, Gemeente Westerveld, Drenthe. Lheeweg.

L. +9.1 cm. Fragment of sheet bronze. Remaining width 3.1 cm, thickness < 1 mm. The concave section is original and squared-off, so was never part of any cutting edge. A circa 8 mm wide strip is folded over and a perforation is visible. Lipping on the inside of the perforation suggests that this occurred after casting. It may have been a razor made from reused sheet bronze (*cf.* Drescher 1963: 128-129; Eibich 1970: 250 *Abb.* 1). The folding may have provided a straight and stiffened back. Of the handle little remains, and the placement of the perforation (mid-blade) is illogical. On the surface of the blade an irregular tangle of hairs was preserved in the corrosion of the bronze. Presumably the razor was placed in a leather pouch, or some other material lined with animal skin, with the hairy

side inward. Patina: dark mottled green. Found at c. 1 m depth during the construction of a slurry pit by the farmer on the Lheeweg. A possible ringditch was observed. The bronze item was found inside a large (h. 34 cm) *Schräghals* urn. Museum Assen, Inv.No 1969 /X.2B.

Map reference: c. 221.5/538.7.

References: Harsema 1970: 21; Kooi 1973: 9(137) fig. 3; Jockenhövel 1980: 170 No. 643; *Taf.* 33 No. 643.

Parallels: For the overall shape no parallel exists. For the creation of razors from sheet bronze, the razors from Rooksberg (Kr. Verden; Eibich 1970) and Winsen (Kr. Harburg; Drescher 1963, *Taf.* 3) deserve mention. In the Cromaghs (Co. Antrim) hoard, a folded leather pouch (hairs inside) was found which may have held the tanged bifid razor that was also part of the hoard (Jockenhövel 1980: 30; Eogan 1983: 53 No. 4, fig. 19).

Dating: According to Jockenhövel (1980: 170) no more precise dating than Per. IV-V (c. 1125-750 BC is possible).

(DB 2407) Mariëenberg, Gemeente Hardenberg, Overijssel. Lange Akker.

L. 4.45 cm; w. 1.35 cm. Thin sheet bronze fragment, found in the spring of 1975 inside an urn from the Lange Akker urn-field. Too poorly preserved to be positively identified as a razor. Private collection.

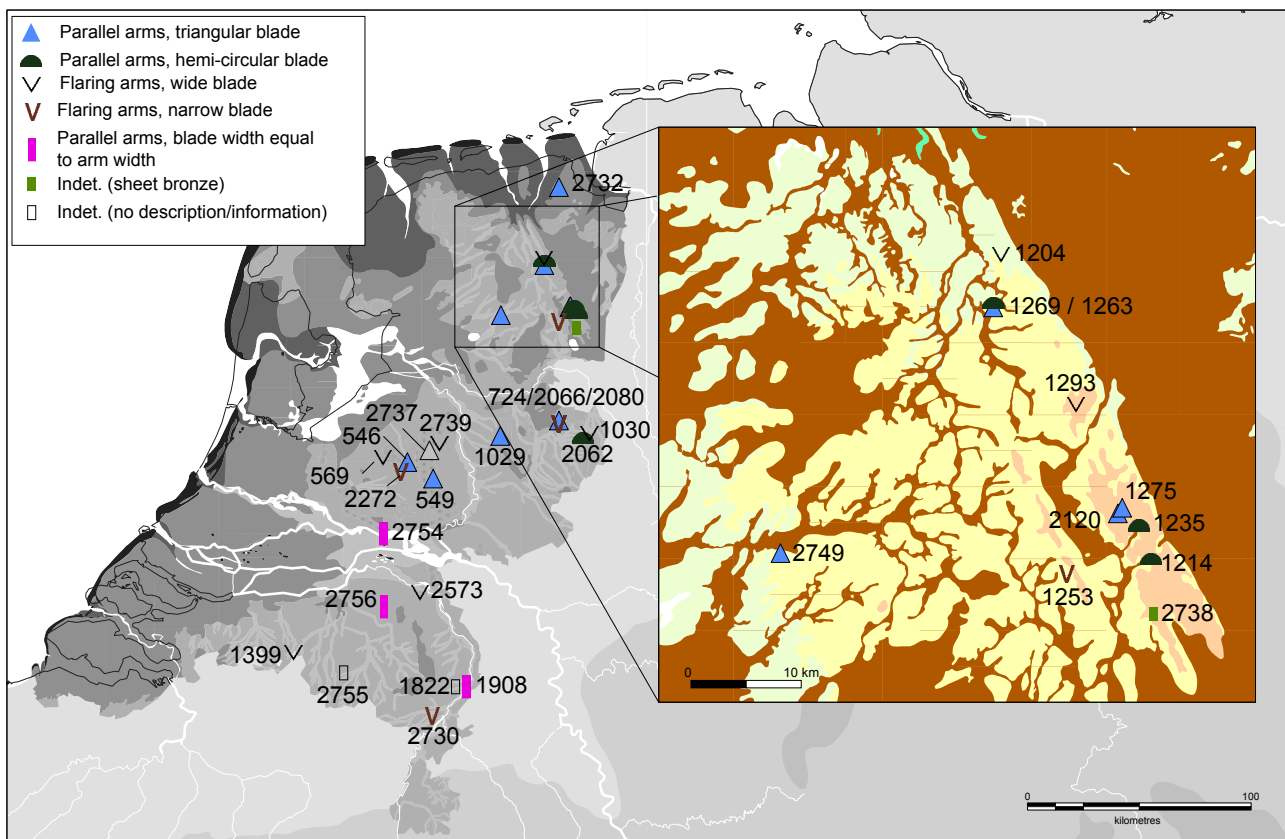


Fig. 12. Distribution of later prehistoric tweezers in the Netherlands. The greyscale map shows their distribution against the palaeogeographic map of c. 3800 BP (from: De Mulder et al. 2003: 228 fig. 143; dark grey areas are coastal barriers, grey areas are peatbog, halftone grey areas are uplands and light grey areas represent stream and river valleys), the inset shows the cluster of specimens from Drenthe (with a reconstruction of the extent of the peatbog (brown) and upland zones (green to yellow to reddish tints) by 1500 cal BC; after Vos et al. 2011: 55). Drawing S. Arnoldussen (Groningen Institute of Archaeology, University of Groningen).

Map reference: c. 236/503.

Reference: -

Parallels: -

Dating: -

(DB 2280) Venlo, Gemeente Venlo, Limburg. Hagerhof.

L. +5 cm, remaining width 3.2 cm. Thin sheet bronze, possible razor fragment. Patina: green to greyish-green, corroded. Found in 1994 with a metal detector in the Hagerhof area of Venlo (from which a nearby urnfield is known; Dyselink 2013). Museum: Limburgs Museum, no Inv.No.

Map reference: c. 209/374.

Reference: -

Parallels: -

Dating: -

2.4 Tweezers

In the section below, the corpus of Bronze Age (and Early Iron Age) Dutch tweezers is discussed (see Fig. 12 for locations). These are discussed as groups based on the form of their arms (parallel or flaring) and shape of the blades (triangular, semicircular, shouldered, etc.).

2.4.1 Tweezers with parallel-sided arms and triangular blades (Fig. 13)

(DB 1029) Haarle, Gemeente Hellendoorn, Overijssel. Urnfield.

L. 4.6 cm; w. 0.9 cm. Narrow arms 0.2-0.2 cm; triangular blade, slight damage at edges. Found before 1930, reportedly with spearhead (Verlinde 1987: 173). Patina: glossy green. Museum Enschede, Inv.No. 1106 (old No. 0.588).

Map reference: c. 222/485.

Reference: Tackenberg 1971: 283 *Liste* 78:3; O'Connor 1980: list 226 No. 28; Verlinde 1987: 166 No. 675, 167, *Abb.* 99:675, 215 No. 675.

Parallels: see Fig. 13 (except DB2732). Tackenberg (1971: 152, 283-284 *Liste* 78, *Karte* 33) classifies these as 'Haarzangen mit schmalem Schaft und dreieckigen Wangen'.

Dating: Per. IV to V (c. 1125-800 BC; Tackenberg 1971: 153).

(DB 1262) Gasteren, Gemeente Aa en Hunze, Drenthe. From tumulus 42.

L. 5.7 cm; w. of blade 1.5 cm. Tweezers with almost parallel-sided arms (thickness. 0.35-0.45 cm), triangular blade. Found in urnfield, tumulus 42, which is a long-bed barrow of Vledder type, with a decentrally placed NW-SE inhumation. Near the presumed location of the skull (Van Giffen 1945: 83) the tweezers, a razor (DB1263), a flint flake and two irregular-discoïd whetstones were found. Museum Assen, Inv.No. 1939/VII.45c.

Map reference: c. 241.6/561.1.

Reference: Van Giffen 1945: 83, 105, *Abb.* 15A; Tackenberg 1971: 283 *Liste* 78:1; O'Connor 1980: 221, list 226 No. 24.

Parallels: see fig. 13 (except DB2732).

Dating: The associated razor (DB1263; *supra*) was dated to Per. IV-V (c. 1125-750 BC; Jockenhövel 1980: 58). Funerary monuments of the Vledder type are dated to c. 1380-920 cal. BC (De Vries 2012: 15; Lanting & Van der Plicht 2003: 214).

(DB 546) Uddelermeer, Gemeente Apeldoorn, Gelderland. Koepelgraf H.

L. 6.5 cm; w. blades 1.3 cm. Crack in left arm below the loop. Round loop, thin (0.2-0.3cm) parallel-sided arms (one now broken) and triangular blades. Originating from the barrow (Dutch: *koepelgrafheuvel*) directly north of Den Schans. Secondary interment of cremation remains and tweezers into an older Late Neolithic barrow, close to the top of the barrow (Holwerda 1912: 16). Patina: green. A gift of Her Majesty the Queen to the National Museum of Antiquities (*cf.* Toebosch 2003: 38-48). Museum: RMO, Inv.No. e1912/12.11.

Map reference: c. 180.5/473.3.

Reference: Holwerda 1912: 16, *Afb.* 9.

Parallels: see Fig. 13 (except DB2732)

Dating: Per. IV to V (c. 1125-800 BC; Tackenberg 1971: 153).

(DB 549) Ugchelen, Gemeente Apeldoorn, Gelderland.

L. 6.3 cm. Parallel-sided arms (w. 2 mm, th. 1.5 mm), triangular blades (damaged) > 1.2-1.4 cm wide at blade tips. Patina: green. Found in a biconical urn (RMO e 1924/12.67a) with a fragment of a cone (l. 1.3 cm; w. 0.55 cm; patina mottled green). Excavated by D.J.C. Eldring, M. Nielmayer esq., W. Bas Backer and major Heldring. Originates from the "Felua" collection, obtained through purchases, and presented to the RMO by W. Spijker of Amsterdam. Museum RMO, Inv.No. e 1924/12.67b.

Map reference: c. 192/466.

References: -

Parallels: see Fig. 13 (except DB2732)

Dating: Late Bronze Age, based on typochronology of urn (Van den Broeke 2005: 610 fig. 27.8).

(DB 2080) Hilbertshaar, Gemeente Tubbergen, Overijssel. Urnfield.

L. 6.2 cm. Narrow arms (w. 0.25-0.4 cm) ending in triangular blades (w. 1.4 cm at blade tips). Arms display traces of perished organic cord (diam. 0.5 mm?) originally wound around arms preserved in the patina (*cf.* Wilhelmi 1975: 53; Zoller 1965 107, *Abb.* 6 for similarly wrapped tweezers). Found in a *Kegelhals* urn (Inv.No. 1978-4) with cremation. Chance find from c. 30-40 urnfield graves, found around c. 1946-1950, from collections of G.J. ter Kuile, G.J. Eshuis and R. Kampman - acquired by Oudheidkamer Twente (Verlinde 1980: 125(119)). Museum Enschede, Inv.No. 1978-4a.

Map reference: c. 248.2/491.9.

References: Hijzeler 1961: 44-45; Verlinde 1980: 125(119)-127(121); 128(122) *Abb.* 69:464; Verlinde 1987: 215 No. 464.

Parallels: With regards to the 'high' triangular blade, mainly DB1257; DB2075; DB2120.

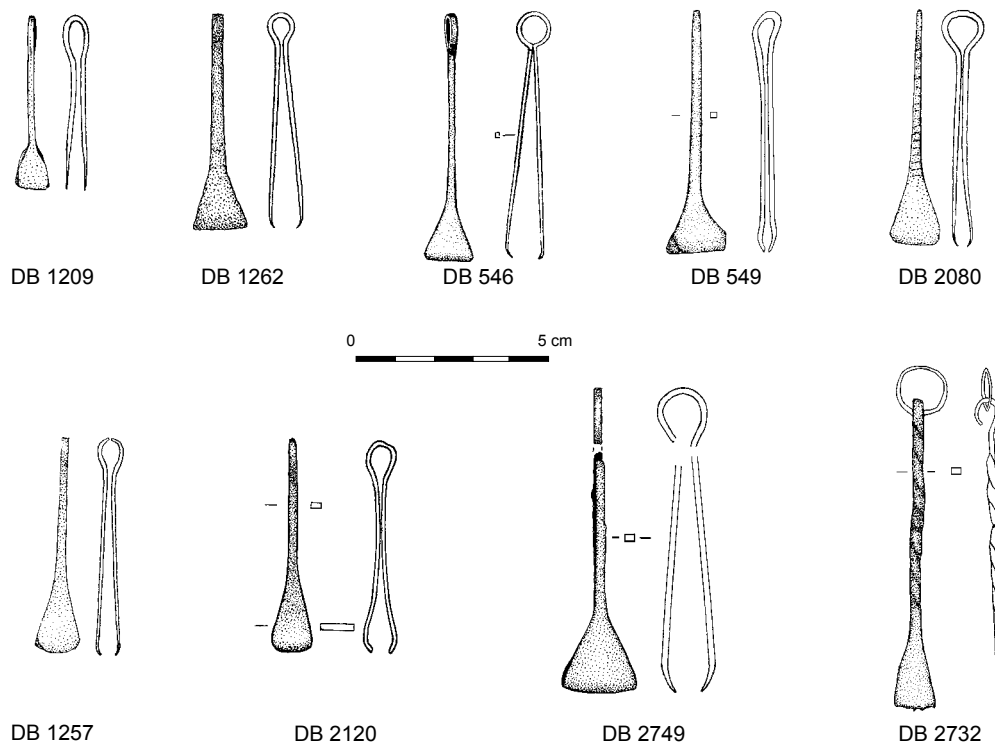


Fig. 13. Tweezers with parallel-sided arms and triangular blades. Drawings: Groningen Institute of Archaeology / H. Steegstra.

Dating: Late Bronze Age, based on the typochronology of the urn (cf. Van den Broeke 2005: 610).

(DB 2120) Odoorn, Gemeente Borger en Odoorn, Drenthe. De Poort.

L. 5.6 cm. Narrow parallel-sided arms of rectangular cross-section, flaring toward triangular-shaped blades (w. 1.05 cm at blade tips). Teardrop-shaped loop. Patina: glossy green. Found with cremated remains. Private collection.

Map reference: c. 252.9/542.4.

References: -

Parallels: In view of the 'high' triangular blade, mainly DB1257, DB2075, DB2080.

Dating: -

(DB 2732) Enumerhoogte, Gemeente Loppersum, Groningen.

L. 8.2 cm. Narrow parallel-sided arm (w. 0.3) of square cross-section, torsioned from beneath loop to above blade (w. 1.1 cm at blade tip). Blade tip now shows serrated edges; it is unclear whether this reflects natural deterioration (taphonomy) or deliberate decommissioning / transformation by filing. Found with suspension loop. Originating from dwelling mound Enumerhoogte (stray find?).

Map reference: c. 248.1/595.9.

References: -

Parallels: Brinkum, Kreis Grafschaft Hoya (Tackenberg 1971: 283; Taf. 35 No. 4).

Dating: Given the torsion-decorated arm probably Hallstatt C (a toilet set with a similarly torsioned ((iron)) nail-cleaner/cutter was found in the Ha C inhumation grave of Uden

- Slabroek (Van der Vaart-Verschoof 2017: 221-227). See also the toilet sets with torsioned arms from the Ha C grave of Nidderau (Ney 2017: 320-323). Strange is the fact that the Enumerhoogte tweezers originated from a dwelling mound (*terp* or *wierde*) dated to c. 300 BC - AD 1300 (Miedema 1986: 186 tab. 1, 194 fig. 29).

(DB 2749) Dwingeloo, Gemeente Westerveld, Drenthe. Lheeweg urnfield.

L. 6.2 cm. Narrow (w. 0.3 cm) parallel-sided arms ending in triangular blades (w. 1.9 cm at blade tips), round loop. Patina: mottled green, corroded, sandy encrustation. Found in 2017 in an excavation by Transect of an elongated, c. 16 x 6 m, post-encircled urnfield barrow/long-bed barrow. The tweezers were found together with a razor (DB2748) and pot (*Kegelhalsterrine*) inside an urn placed underneath the barrow. The top of the urn was destroyed, but the urn still contained the cremated remains of two adult males.

Map reference: c. 222.3/538.8.

References: -

Parallels: see Fig. 13 (except DB2732).

Dating: c. 1285-1135 BC, based on AMS dating of the associated human remains.

(DB 1257) Odoornerzand, Gemeente Borger en Odoorn, Drenthe. Cremation grave.

L. 5.75 cm. Nearly parallel-sided arms (w. 0.25-0.4 cm) ending in triangular blades (width at blade tips 1.15 cm). Patina: mottled green-brown. Blade tips abraded. Recovered June 1939 from an elevation (barrow?) known locally as "de Berg

van Nijhof" (Nijhof's hill). The find is described as originating from 'the edge of the barrow, among cremated remains'. Acquired by Museum Assen from H. Arends of Odoornerszand. Museum Assen, Inv.No. 1939/VI.8.

Map reference: c. 253.3/542.9.

Reference: Jaarverslag Museum Assen 1939: 22 No. 45.

Parallels: see Fig. 13 (except DB2732).

Dating: -

2.4.2 Tweezers with parallel-sided arms and semicircular blades (Fig. 14)

(DB 2062) Oldenzaal, *Gemeente Oldenzaal, Overijssel*. Urnfield De Tij.

L. 7.1 cm. Narrow (w. 0.4-0.5 cm) arms and semicircular blades (w. 1.8 cm at blade tips). Excavated by C. Hijzeler in 1947. The tweezers were found - broken into three pieces - on top of a cremation (in an urn) in the centre of an elongated tomb with internal post-setting (No. 37) of the Vledder type (Verlinde 1980: (81)75 Abb. 38; (84)78 Abb. 41; 1987: 173). Patina: green. Museum Enschede, Inv.No. 657.

Map reference: c. 258.8/482.2.

Reference: Verlinde 1980: 83(77) Abb. 41 No. 265; Verlinde 1987: 215 No. 265.

Parallels: DB1235, DB1269. Tackenberg (1971: 155, 288 *Liste 79*; *Karte 33*) classifies these as '*Haarzangen mit schmalem Schaft und paddelförmigen Wangen*'.

Dating: Per. IV to VI (c. 1125-575 BC; Tackenberg 1971: 155), Period IV (c. 1125-925 BC) according to Verlinde (1987: 215). Tombs of the Vledder type are dated to c. 1380-920 BC (De Vries 2012: 15; Lanting & Van der Plicht 2003: 214).

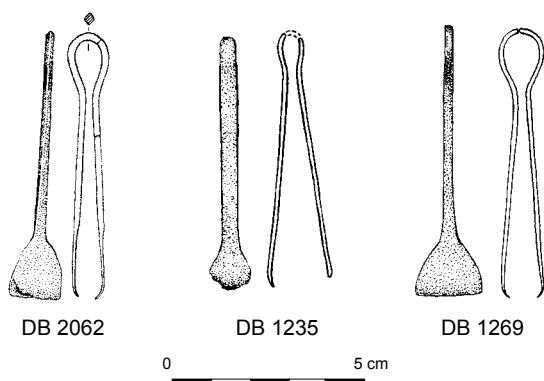


Fig. 14. Tweezers with parallel-sided arms and semicircular blades. Drawings: Groningen Institute of Archaeology.

(DB 1235) Between Odoorn and Valthe, *Gemeente Borger en Odoorn, Drenthe*. Grave.

L. 6.7 cm; w. 1.2 cm. Pair of tweezers, found in two fragments, with parallel-sided arms (w. 0.55-0.5 cm) and semicircular blades (damaged). Patina: dark green (lighter on one side). Museum Assen, Inv.No. 1931/IV.3 (purchased from finder). Found in the spring of 1931 by P. Drenth of Valthe, west of the pine woods near Valthe along the road to Odoorn, together with an urn (cordoned and with four handles; Assen, Inv.No.

1931/IV 1), amber bead (DB 1236 = Inv.No. 1931/IV.3a) of irregular, boat-shaped cross-section) and burnt bones.

Map reference: c. 254.8/540.9.

References: Jaarverslag Museum Assen 1931: 20, No. 44; Museum Assen Inventarisboek 1931/IV 1-3.

Parallels: DB 2062, DB 1269.

Dating: Transitional Middle Bronze Age to Late Bronze Age, based on the associated urn (Type Gasteren, c. 1400-1200 BC; Arnoldussen 2008: 409 note 147; Lanting & Van der Plicht 2003: 162; 213).

Note: Amber beads and remains of other organic materials were found with toilet sets at Uden-Slabroek and Frankfurt-Stadtwald, and may represent toggles for closing leather or textile pouches that contained the toilet sets (Van der Vaart-Verschoof 2017: 227; Van der Vaart-Verschoof & Schumann 2017: 18; Ney 2017: 322).

(DB 1269) Gasteren, *Gemeente Aa en Hunze, Drenthe*. Tumulus 45.

L. 7.2 cm. Thin (0.3-0.4 cm) parallel-sided arms, round loop, semicircular blades (w. 1.8 cm at blade tips). Patina: mottled green. Found with a cremation at the centre of a tumulus (No. 45) that also witnessed later funerary activities. Excavated by A.E. van Giffen in 1939. Museum Assen, Inv.No. 1939/VII.74A. Map reference: c. 241.6/561.1.

References: Van Giffen 1945: 118 No. 96, 121 No. 121, afb. 20 No. 74; Glasbergen 1954: 144 fig. 67 No. 3; Tackenberg 1971: 283 *Liste 78* No. 2; O'Connor 1980: 221 list 226.

Parallels: DB2062, DB1235. Tackenberg 1971: 155, 288 *Liste 79*, *Karte 33*.

Dating: c. 1200-1000 BC (LBA2; O'Connor 1980: 221).

2.4.3 Tweezers with parallel-sided arms and shouldered semicircular or triangular blades (Fig. 15)

(DB 1214) Weerdinge, *Gemeente Emmen, Drenthe*. Cremation grave.

L. 7.7 cm. Tweezers with narrow arms (0.2-0.4 cm) of rectangular- (arms) to lozenge-shaped (loop) cross-section. Small horizontal platforms (shoulders) where the blade departs from the arms. Width of semi-circular blade at blade tips 1.8 cm. Patina: fine glossy dark green, excellently preserved. Found in 1925 by A.E. van Giffen, in a cineration grave (cremation) east of the passage tomb D37a at Weerdinge (cf. Bakker 1979: 29). Map reference: c. 255.9/537.9.

Reference: Jaarverslag Groninger Museum over 1925: 20 No. 97, 102.

Dating: Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age? Based on formal similarities to Tackenberg's (1971: 155, 288 *Liste 79*, *Karte 33*) '*Haarzangen mit schmalem Schaft und paddelförmigen Wangen*' dated to Per. IV to VI (c. 1125-575 BC; op. cit., 155).

(DB 2737) Niersen, *Gemeente Epe, Gelderland*. Tumulus G6.

L. 8.2 cm. Narrow parallel sided arms of square (2x2 mm) cross-section. Narrow shoulders where the triangular blades join the arms. Width of blade at blade tips 1.9 cm. Originally

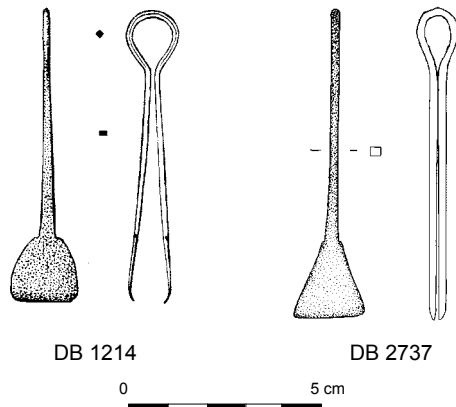


Fig. 15. Tweezers with parallel-sided arms and shouldered semicircular or triangular blades. Drawings: Groningen Institute of Archaeology / H. Steegstra.

held a sliding ring (now lost). Patina mottled green. Found in tumulus G6 during excavation by Holwerda in 1908, from a bowl with everted rim (G220; RMO Inv.No. e1908/1.3). Museum RMO, Inv.No. e1908/1.4.

Map reference: c. 190.4/478.6.

References: Holwerda 1908: 8, Taf. 3d; Tackenberg 1971: 292 Liste 88b No. 1; O'Connor 1980: 21, list 226 no 27; Hulst 2010: 58; Verlinde & Hulst 2010: 198 No. G220, 202.

Parallels: DB1214 for the shouldered blade, DB2730 and Tackenberg (1971: 171-173, 291-292 Liste 88a-b, Karte 37) for the sliding ring.

Dating: Late Bronze Age, based on the associated bowl (Hulst 2010: 58). Tackenberg (1971: 171) argues that sliding-ring tweezers (*Schieberpinzetten*) in northwest Germany date to Ha C and Ha D (c. 800-480 BC), whereas Steuer (2003: 179) places them in Per. IV up to Ha D (c. 1125-480 BC).

2.4.4 Tweezers with parallel-sided arms and equal blade and arm width (Fig. 16)

(DB 2756) Uden, *Gemeente Uden*, Noord-Brabant. Maashorst, Slabroek

L. 9.2 cm. Bronze tweezers of straight parallel form (width at loop and tips c. 0.5 cm). Found together with an iron nail-cutter with torsioned body and an iron ring with leather attached (possibly a pouch for the toilet set, closed with an amber bead). Inhumation grave beneath charcoal deposits, of an unsexed individual wearing bronze anklets, bronze bracelets and hair rings (Van der Vaart-Verschoof 2017: 222-226). A broken-up bronze pin and remains of wood, textile and bone could also be recognised (*ibid.*).

Map reference: c. 169.75/412.55.

References: Jansen *et al.* 2011: 108-111; Van der Vaart-Verschoof 2017: 221-228.

Dating: Based on six radiocarbon dates from charcoal in the pit, c. 780-430 cal BC (Van der Vaart-Verschoof 2017: 224); based on the typochronology of the entire assemblage presumably Ha C (c. 800-625 BC; *op. cit.*, 227).

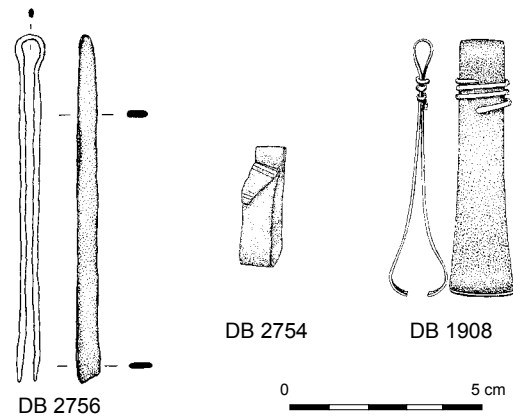


Fig. 16. Tweezers with parallel-sided arms and equal blade and arm width. Note that DB 1908 is Roman or early medieval in date. Drawings: Groningen Institute of Archaeology / H. Steegstra. (DB 2756 and DB2754 after Van der Vaart-Verschoof 2017, fig. C28.1 no. 11, fig. C28.8.)

Parallels: For tweezers with parallel-sided arms and equal blade and arm width, see Nidderau (Ney 2017: 321-322) or Havré (Van der Vaart-Verschoof 2017: 125 fig. C13.4).

(DB 2754) Rhenen, *Gemeente Rhenen*, Utrecht. Koerheuvel, Chieftain's grave.

L. \pm 6.5; w. 0.9 cm. Folded bronze tweezers, pointy tips with slight transverse ridges (for grip?). From a bronze vessel that originally contained cremated human bones and *pars pro toto* parts of a wagon (linchpins, hub fitting), horse-gear (bridles), the top half of a bronze socketed axe, an iron knife, the bronze tweezers and several unidentifiable bronze objects (Van der Vaart-Verschoof 2017: 214 tab. 28.1). Museum Rhenen, Inv. No. R12.

Map reference: c. 167.14/441.79.

Reference: Van der Vaart-Verschoof 2017: 207-215, 208 fig. C.28.1 No. 11.

Parallels: -

Dating: Hallstatt C (c. 800-625 BC; Van der Vaart-Verschoof 2017: 215), based on the associated bucket, linchpins, hub fittings and horse-gear.

(DB 1908) Baarlo, *Gemeente Peel en Maas*, Limburg. Urnfield De Bong.

L. 6.8 cm. Width of blade at tips 1.7 cm, th. 1 mm. Metal wire wrapped around upper section of arms. No information on find context available. Collection: Gemeentehuis Baarlo or Maasbree. Possibly also listed as DB 1822, but object unavailable for verification.

Map reference: c. 203/371.

Reference: Van Dijk 2009: 83-84 (no mention of tweezers).

Parallels: -

Dating: Tweezers with broad parallel blades occur (albeit rare) in urnfield graves (e.g. at Telgte-Raestrup (Wilhelmi 1983: 45 Abb. 39 F8) but continue into the Roman and early medieval

periods (e.g. Krefeld – Gellep Grab 45 (Steuer 2003: 180 Abb. 36 No. 4). Given the scarcity of Late Bronze Age parallels in our area, the curvature of the blade tips, and the similarities to the tweezer from the Elst-’t Woud grave 163 (dated to c. AD 460-550; Verwers & van Tent 2015: 227, *afb.* 7.117b No. 10), a younger (Roman/early medieval) date is favoured here.

4.4.5 Tweezers with narrow flaring blades (Fig. 17)

(DB 2730) Busjop, Gemeente Leudal, Limburg. Tumulus XIII. L. 5.9 cm. Flaring arms that widen from 0.2 cm (near loop) to 0.4 cm (near blade) in width. Blades of triangular shape (w. 1.45 cm at tips). One of the arms has retained the sliding ring. Blade edge worn. Excavated by Hijzeler of the State Service for Archaeological Research (then ROB, now RCE) in 1951, following reports of ‘urn shards’ being found during forestry works. Patina: green. Museum: RMO Inv.No. I 1951/0.XIII.

Map reference: c. 191.720/361.627.

References: Hijzeler 1951: 2; Theunissen *et al.* 2013: 42-45 (no mention of tweezers in either publication).

Parallels: see Fig. 17 for overall shape (*cf.* Tackenberg 1971: 287-290 *Liste* 85-86, *Karte* 37). For the sliding ring: DB2737 and Tackenberg 1971: 171-173, 291-292 *Liste* 88a-b, *Karte* 37. Dating: Tackenberg (1971: 171) argues that sliding-ring tweezers (*Schieberpinzetten*) in northwest Germany date to Ha C and Ha D (c. 800-480 BC), whereas Steuer (2003: 179) places them

in Per. IV up to Ha D (c. 1125-480 cal BC). Tweezers with flaring blades from northwest Germany are dated by Tackenberg (1971: 166-168) to Per. IV into VI (c. 1125-625 BC).

(DB 2066) Hilbertshaar, Gemeente Tubbergen, Overijssel. Urnfield.

L. +3.2 cm. Fragment of bronze tweezers (unburnt). Arms widening from 0.7 cm (near loop) to 0.9 cm (end of preserved fragment). Found August 1938 in urn (Inv.No. 844) with cremation and burnt bronze rod/bar/pin fragment (l. 4.2 cm). Urn 33 cm high with three vertical strap handles. Former collection of G.J. ter Kuile. Museum: Museum Enschede, Inv.No. 844a.

Map reference: c. 248.20/491.90.

References: Hijzeler 1961: 44-45; Verlinde 1980: 126(120) Abb. 68 No. 458; Verlinde 1987: 215.

Parallels: see Fig. 17 for overall shape (*cf.* Tackenberg 1971: 287-290 *Liste* 85-86, *Karte* 37).

Dating: Late Bronze Age to Per. V (c. 1100-750), based on the associated urn (Verlinde 1987: 215).

(DB 724) Hilbertshaar, Gemeente Tubbergen, Overijssel. Urnfield.

L. 5.7 cm. Arms of rectangular cross-section, widening from 0.3 cm (near loop) to 1.2 cm (width at tips). Found in 1949 in an urn of 29 cm height (Inv.No. 1978:3) with cremated remains and containing two ancillary cups (one *Henkelgefäß*; Inv.Nos. 1978:3ab) and a fragment of a (burnt) ring of square cross-section. Tweezers burnt and deformed. Former collection of G.J. Eshuis. Museum: Museum Enschede, Inv.Nos 1978: 3c.

Map reference: c. 248.20/491.90.

References: Hijzeler 1961: 44-45; Verlinde 1980: 128(122) abb. 69 nos 463a-d; Verlinde 1987: 215 No. 463.

Parallels: see Fig. 17 for overall shape.

Dating: On the basis of the angular cross-section of the associated ring fragment, Verlinde (1987: 215) suggests a dating in the Late Bronze Age or earliest part of the Early Iron Age (Per. IV-V; c.1125-750 cal BC).

(DB 2272) Garderense Heide, Gemeente Barneveld, Gelderland. Hooiweg.

L. 7.4 cm. Arms gradually widening from 0.25 cm (near loop) to 1.4 cm (width at tips), diameter of loop 0.9 cm. The arms have a rectangular cross-section and are 2 mm thick. In the bend of the loop is an irregular lump of bronze, apparently a cast-on repair. Patina: glossy dark green, covered by a varnish. Found around 1930-1940 as a secondary interment into an older tumulus. The urn is a tripartite bowl (h. 10,5 cm; *Schräghalsurn*). Formerly in the Westendorp collection. Collection GAS, Inv. No. 1976-4-83a.

Map reference: c. 177.5/470.5.

Reference: Verlinde & Hulst 2010: 58, 156, 163, 173, 177 *afb.* 63 No. G43.

Parallels: see Fig. 17 for narrow, flaring tweezers (*cf.* Tackenberg 1971: 287-290 *Liste* 85-86, *Karte* 37). A similar

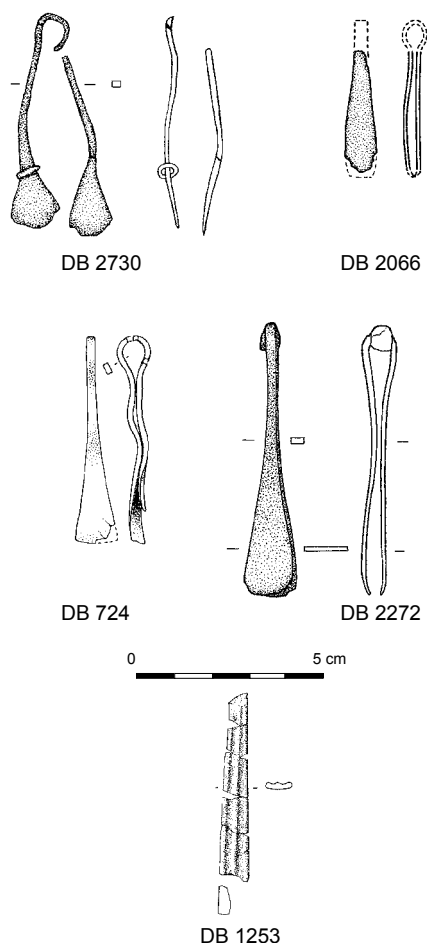


Fig. 17. Tweezers with flaring blades (narrow). Drawings: Groningen Institute of Archaeology / H. Steegstra (DB 724 after Verlinde 1980).

repair of the tweezer loop was found in the Riesenbeck grave (an urn with accessory cup, razor and tweezers; Aschemeyer 1966: 83 Taf. 8B No. 3).

Dating: Based on typochronology of associated pottery, possibly early phase of the Early Iron Age (Verlinde & Hulst 2010: 156, cf. Van den Broeke 2005: 610 fig. 27.8), but most plausibly Late Bronze Age (Hulst 2010: 58).

(DB 1253) Sleenerzand, Gemeente Coevorden, Drenthe. Tumulus Galgenberg.

L. 5.2 cm. Fragment (one arm) of tweezers, with three vertical ribs. Reportedly found in the primary grave of period 2 of Middle Bronze Age tumulus 'De Galgenberg', excavated in 1934 and 1938 by A.E. van Giffen. Grave goods included a palstave, a pair of gold spirals, a twisted bracelet and a series of sheet-bronze, triangular tanged arrowheads. There are doubts as to the association of the tweezer fragment with the funerary assemblage: Butler (1990: 86) states that according to W.A.B. van der Sanden, then curator of the Drents Museum, the context of the tweezer fragment is not explicitly identified in the documentation. Moreover, its functional interpretation as a tweezer fragment is not robust. Museum Assen, Inv.No. 1934/V.30.4. F.

Map reference: c. 248.30/537.24.

References: Van Giffen 1936: 104-110, afb. 10-14; 1940: 207-209; 1944: 478-9, Afb. 40; Glasbergen 1954: 22 fig. 47, 32 nos.16-17; Lohof 1991: 67-68 No. 163-1/2/3; Butler 1990 (1992): 85 fig. 20, 86 No. 16.

Parallels: For tweezer arms with longitudinal ribbing, see Ney (2017: 321 fig. 2, HaC) or Pirling *et al.* 1980, Taf. 23.

Dating: The primary grave can be dated to the first half of the Middle Bronze Age-B (c. 1500-1100 BC) on the basis of the palstave (Butler 1990 ((1992)): 86). Tweezers with ribbed arms most probably date to the Late Bronze Age or Early Iron Age (*supra*), which argues against their association in this grave.

2.4.6 Tweezers with wide flaring blades (Fig. 18)

(DB 1399) Goirle, Gemeente Goirle, Noord-Brabant. Regte Heide-Vijfberg Tumulus VI.

L. +3.8 cm. Flaring arms; 0.4 cm (near loop) to 1.4 cm width at tips. Flattened ovoid cross-section. Loop missing. Decoration near the blade margins. Found during excavation by A.E. van Giffen in 1935 in the central interment of tumulus VI of the barrow cluster known locally as 'De Vijfberg'. This central interment was a coffin grave placed on the old surface and covered by a sod-built mound (Butler 1995/1996: 200). From the coffin, a high-flanged axe with low-placed, short flanges (AXRSL; Butler 1995/1996: 199 fig. 22 Cat.No. 72) was recovered, as well as the pair of tweezers, two tiny trapeze-shaped indeterminate bronze items, an incomplete cylindrical bronze ring and bundles of bone strips (*op. cit.*, 201; Van Giffen 1937: afb. 24 No. 60; Verwers 1980: 19). Present location of artefacts unknown.

Map reference: c. 129.8/390.77.

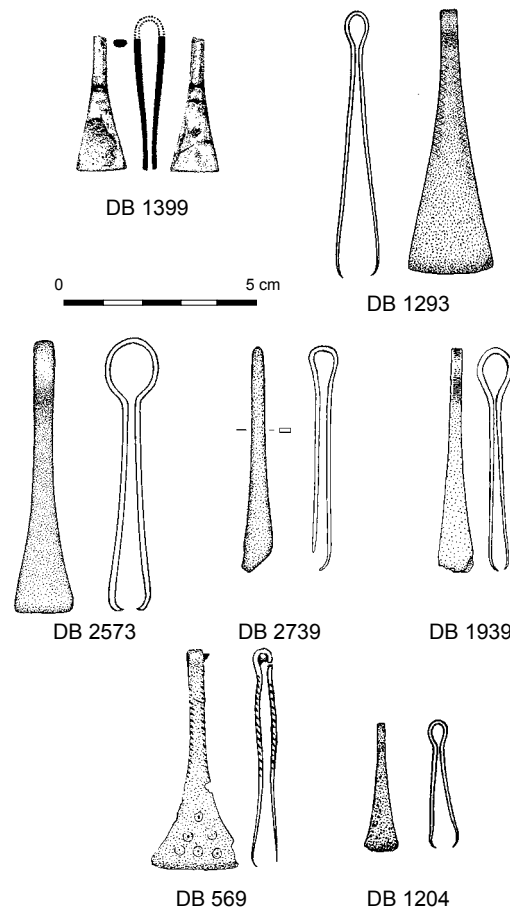


Fig. 18. Tweezers with flaring blades (wide). Drawings: Groningen Institute of Archaeology / H. Steegstra.

References: Van Giffen 1937: 33-39; Glasbergen 1954: 63 fig. 54; Verwers 1980; Butler 1995/1996: 199-201 Cat.No. 72.

Parallels: DB569; DB1293; DB2573 for overall shape. For incised decoration along the blade margin see DB1293, Aschemeyer (1961: 78 Taf. 3B No. 4), Baudou (1960, Taf. 8 no XIIb-2) or Kubach (1977: Taf. 117 D2).

Dating: The associated axe is of non-local (Hungarian plain? Butler 1995/1996: 200) origin and is attributed to the Hadjuszamson-Apa phase (c. 1574-1475 BC; Lanting & Van der Plicht 2003: 126, 134).

(DB 1293) Drouwen, Gemeente Borger en Odoorn, Drenthe. 1939 Urnfield, stone packing.

L. 7 cm. Arms widening from 0.5 (near loop) to 2.3 cm (at tips). Broad triangular blade. The sides of the arms are lined with punched-in triangles. Tweezers originated from one of two terrine-shaped urns with strap handles (*zweihenklige Terrinen*) placed together in one stone-packing amidst graves with circular ditches, uncovered during the urnfield excavations by A.E. van Giffen in 1939 (Kooi 1979: 92, fig. 87 No. 8 for location). The smaller of the two urns contained the tweezers and a razor of Scandinavian ship-derivative type (DB 1292). Museum Assen, Inv.No. 1939/XII.8-4.

Map reference: c. 249.11/552.76.

References: Van Giffen 1943: 482-483, afb. 45a-b; Butler 1969: 80, fig. 35, Pl. 30; Kooi 1979: 90-96, 94 fig. 89; O'Connor 1980: 221, list 226 No. 23.

Parallels: Fig. 18: DB569, DB1399, DB2573 for overall shape. For incised decoration along the blade margin, see DB1399, Montelius (1917: 48 No. 1121, 72 Pl. II:4 No. 1121 (gold); Baudou (1960: 40, *Taf.* 8 no XII B2) or Wilhelmi (1983: 21 Abb. 15 No. B7).

Dating: Per. V (c. 1125-925 BC; O'Connor 1980: 222), on the basis of the associations. Baudou too suggests a dating for decorated tweezers in Per. V (Baudou 1960: 40, *Taf.* VIII, XII A). Given the associated *zweiheknliche Terrine*, probably Late Bronze Age in date (c. 1100-900 BC, cf. Van den Broeke 2005: 610 fig. 27.8; Scheele 2016: 85 tab. 2).

(DB 2573) Cuijk, Gemeente Cuijk en St. Agatha, Noord-Brabant. Den Drul.

L. 7.1 cm. Arms widening from 0.55 cm (near loop) to 1.5 cm (at tips). Patina: bronze colour, perfectly preserved. Found through metal detecting, in private collection.

Map reference: c. 186.3/417.6.

References: -

Parallels: see Fig. 18 for overall shape and Tackenberg (1971: 287-288 *Liste* 85; 288-290 *Liste* 86; *Karte* 36) for wider distribution.

Dating: -

(DB 1030) Oldenzaal, Gemeente Oldenzaal, Overijssel. Tankenberg / De Lutte.

L. 5.9 cm. Arms widening from 0.35 cm (near loop) to 0.9 cm (at tips). Rectangular cross-section. Found before 1965 in the vicinity of the Tankenberg hill, close to the German border at Oldenzaal. Museum Enschede, Inv.No. 384.

Map reference: c. 261.91/483.59.

References: Tackenberg 1971: 290 *Liste* 87 No. 3; Verlinde 1980: 73(67) *Abb.* 34 No. 221, 75(69); Verlinde 1987: 215 No. 221.

Parallels: see Fig 18 for overall shape; cf. Tackenberg (1971: 287-288 *Liste* 85; 288-290 *Liste* 86; *Karte* 36) for wider distribution.

Dating: -

(DB 2739) Epe, Gemeente Epe, Gelderland.

L. 5.9 cm. Arms widening from 0.3 cm (near loop) to minimally 0.8 mm (near tips). Blades and arms damaged (tweezers now fixed to wooden support). Formerly Butter collection. Museum: RMO, Inv.No. 144.

Map reference: c. 195/484.

References: -

Parallels: see Fig. 18 for overall shape (cf. Tackenberg 1971: 287-290 *Liste* 85-86; *Karte* 37).

Dating: -

(DB 1204) Annertol, Gemeente Aa en Hunze, Drenthe.

Tum. II.

L. 3.5 cm. Arms widening from 0.3 cm (near loop) to 0.9 cm (width at tips). Found during barrow excavations by A.E. van

Giffen in 1921. Tweezers recovered from barrel-shaped urn (Van Giffen 1923: 199 'grote tonvormige, besmeten urn') with cremation remains and two bronze pins, placed as a secondary interment into the SW quadrant of a Middle Bronze Age barrow. Museum Assen, Inv.No. 1921/VII. 1c.

Pin Inv.No. 1921/VII.1a: narrow biconical (barrel-shaped) head, slightly flattened at top; plain shaft. Patina: dark green (DB1202). Pin Inv.No. 1921/VII.1b: fragment, head missing; shaft undecorated, S-curved. L. 10.35 cm, th. 3.8 mm (DB1203).

Map reference: c. 242.45/566.37.

References: Jaarverslag Groninger Museum 1921: 133 No. 16; Van Giffen 1923: 199; 1930, *Taf.* 19: 1-1 c; Tackenberg 1971: 197, 288 *Liste* 85 No. 22; O'Connor 1980: 222; list 226 No. 26; Lohof 1991: 84.

Parallels: see Fig. 18 for overall shape, cf. Tackenberg (1971: 287-288 *Liste* 85, 288-290 *Liste* 86, *Karte* 36) for wider distribution.

Dating: According to Lohof (1991: 84), the third period of the Annertol II barrow dates to the Middle Bronze Age or Late Bronze Age. The pin with barrel-shaped head may date to the start of the Urnfield period, according to Laux (1976: 85; *Taf.* 33 nos. 467-468; *Taf.* 63). This casts doubt on Tackenberg's (1971: 167) claim that the urn is to be dated in Per. VI (c. 750-575 BC). Rather, a Late Bronze Age date is suggested here (with the urn reinterpreted as a *Kümmerkeramik* vessel (cf. Lanting & Van der Plicht 2003: 252 fig. 9).

(DB 569) Groevenbeekse Heide, Gemeente Ermelo, Gelderland.

L. 5.8 cm. Arms widening from 0.45 cm (near loop) to c. 2.3 cm at tips. Decorated with six small dot-circle motifs on blades and incised decoration on the outlines and sides of the upper part of the arms. Exact provenance of the find is unknown, it presumably originates from (or near) the Groevenbeekse heide urnfield (comprising c. 370 graves; Verlinde & Hulst 2010: 139). Former collection J. Bezaan of Putten. Museum: RMO, Inv.No. e1940/1.115.

Map reference: c. 169.7/477.5.

References: Hulst 2010: 58 *afb.* 22; Verlinde & Hulst 2010: 138-139.

Parallels: see Fig. 18 for the overall shape, but none has a blade this wide. An origin in the Nordic contact network seems plausible (cf. Tackenberg 1971: *Karte* 34). Similarly decorated tweezers are known from the northwest German area (e.g. Landkreis Neustadt am Rübenberge; Tackenberg 1971: 285 No. 1; *Taf.* 35 No. 8).

Dating: Tackenberg (1971: 158) places the dot-circle decorated tweezers in Per. V (c. 925-750 cal BC).

2.4.7 Tweezers with no information/drawing available

(DB 1822) Rinkesfort, Gemeente Peel en Maas, Limburg. Urnfield De Meeren / Kesselse Bergen.

Tweezers listed in national inventory (Archis 2 *waarnummersnummer* 31229) as coming from urnfield location (from

the same site, *Kerbsnitt*- and *Cylinderhals* urns are reported). Possibly also listed as DB 1908, but object unavailable for verification.

Map reference: c. 201.85/371.8.

Reference: Sueur & Van Dijk 2012: bijlage 6.

Parallels: -

Dating: -

(DB 2755) Knegsel, Gemeente Eersel, Noord-Brabant.

Tweezers from burial 34 in an urnfield excavated by W.C. Braat of the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden. Associated with an penannular gilded ring. Tweezers now lost.

Map reference: c. 152.60/379.68.

Reference: Braat 1936: 45; O'Connor 1980: 222, list 226 No. 22.

Parallels: -

Dating: LBA3 or later (O'Connor 1980: 222).

(DB 2738) Emmen, Gemeente Emmen, Drenthe. Noordbarger es.

Fragments of very corroded sheet bronze from an urned cremation close to a Middle Bronze Age barrow. The urn also contained sherds from a second pot. Given the observation that two sheet-bronze fragments were found on top of each other, an interpretation as remains of a pair of tweezers was suggested (De Wit 2002: 12).

Map reference: c. 256.05/533.32.

Reference: De Wit 2002: 10-12.

Parallels: -

Dating: The associated urn is dated to the Early or Middle Iron Age (800-250 BC; De Wit 2002: 10).

2.5 Possible tattooing needles (Fig. 19)

For two Dutch Bronze Age awl-like objects (DB1376; DB1964), their incorporation into a funerary context suggests that they maybe were used as tattooing implements (cf. Tackenberg 1971: 153; Aschemeyer 1966: 77, Taf. 2B No. 3). A speculative addition could be the – as yet unstudied – fragment of a needle from the Weert-Boshoverheide urnfield (Hissel 2012: 218 tab. 7.20). Possibly, the narrow-ended bronze-wire fragments from four graves in the Early Iron Age urnfields of Roermond-Mussenberg (Schabbink & Tol 2000: 41) and Sittard-Hoogveld (Tol 2000: 114 fig. 4.14) served a similar purpose (albeit that these may equally be pin or needle fragments).

(DB 1376) Harenermolen, Gemeente Haren, Groningen. Tum. II / De Tip – 3a.

L. +4.6 cm. Bronze awl or tattooing needle. Diameter of middle part 2 mm; rectangular cross section (w. 2.5 mm, th. 1 mm) opposite to point. Small shallow groove on both sides from middle part to point. Patina: dark green, corroded. From secondary interment into the period-3 mound of the Harenermolen barrow (started in the Late Neolithic; Lanting 1979: 184; 193-194; 200 fig. 5.3). It was found with a thin sheet of bronze (a possible razor fragment: DB1377; Lanting 1979: 193-194)

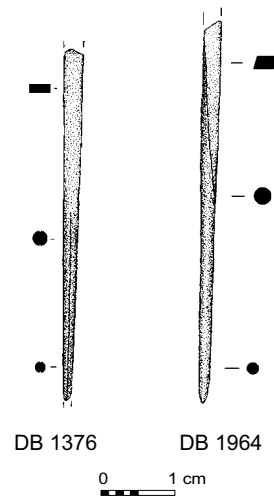


Fig. 19. Awls or tattooing needles. Drawings: Groningen Institute of Archaeology / H. Steegstra. Scale 1:1.

in an urn with two handles (*zweiheklige Terrine*) datable to the Late Bronze Age (cf. Van den Broeke 2005: 610 fig. 27.8; Scheele 2016: 85 tab. 2) covered by a large part of a bowl serving as a lid (Lanting 1979: 202 pl. 5). Museum Groningen, Inv. No. 1922/V.3a.

Map reference: c. 237.96/574.97.

References: Van Giffen 1923: 54; 1930, Abb. 29; Lanting 1979: 193-194; 198-199.

Parallels: DB 1964; Torbrügge 1959: Taf. 29.10. Similar to Form Batzhausen (Torbrügge 1959: Taf. 29.10).

Dating: Late Bronze Age, c. 1150-850 BC, based on dates for *zweiheklige Terrinen*.

(DB 1964) Drouwen, Gemeente Borger en Odoorn, Drenthe. 1941 Urnfield.

L. +5.1 cm. Bronze awl or tattooing needle, rectangular cross-section in upper part (2,5 x 2 mm) and round (diameter 2 mm, decreasing towards tip) in the lower part. Patina: dark green. Found during excavation of the Drouwen urnfield by A.E. van Giffen in 1941. From a tall urn with round shoulders and straight neck (*Cylinderhals* urn; 1941/V56) that contained cremated remains and the awl (DB1964). The urn was capped with a stone. Museum Assen, Inv.No. 1941/V56a.

Map reference: c. 249.11/552.76.

Parallels: DB1376.

References: Van Giffen 1943: 97-98; afb. 4 No. 56a; Kooi 1979: 90-96 (no mention of awl).

Dating: For the associated *Cylinderhals* urn, a Ha A2 to Ha B age is plausible (c. 1125-800 BC; Van den Broeke 2005: 610 fig. 27.8; Lanting & Van der Plicht 2003: 248-249 fig. 8).

3. Contextualizing Dutch razors and tweezers

3.1 Dutch razors in their depositional context

The majority of Dutch later prehistoric razors have been recovered from funerary contexts (see below),

but of some the provenance is less clear. For the razor-shaped objects from Halsteren (DB526 & DB2733) and the razor reportedly from Deurne (DB1620), their context was specified by selling antiques dealers and need not be reliable. For the Achterberg (DB895) find, no contextual information is available. The authenticity – and hence also context – of the Sittard iron ship-shaped razor (DB1131) has been called into question (Kaul 1998a: 227). Only three razors were part of hoard assemblages. The most peculiar of these is the razor from Opheusden (DB2744), which ended up with a Late Bronze Age pin and silver Roman-period coins in a Merovingian pot. This custom of prehistoric ‘relic’ deposition in Merovingian graves is widespread (e.g. Ungerman 2009; Kurasińska, Purowska & Skóraa 2010: 145–146). The second hoard is a peatbog deposition of a tanged urnfield knife (DB1180; Arnoldussen, Butler & Steegstra 2012: 85) together with a *Typ Schleddebrück* razor (DB1181) at Bargoosterveld. The third hoard assemblage concerns the (Sicilian) Pantalica-type razor from the well-known Ommerschans hoard, which also contained an aggrandized ceremonial Ommerschans-Plougrescant dirk and a range of stone and bronze artefacts (Butler & Bakker 1961; Butler 1990: 87), which also was a peatland deposition.

For the razors from funerary contexts, urnfields dominate and most razors originate from urned cremation graves once placed under low, earthen, ditch-enclosed mounds (c. 10–12 instances). For other razors, it is clear that the funerary monuments from which they originated most have stood out in terms of their shape or size. At Sleen, a razor (DB2752) was added to a cremation placed beneath a keyhole-shaped barrow. The Zeijen (DB1197) razor was recovered (decentrally) from within a ditch-enclosed long-bed barrow. The Gasteren (DB1236) razor was found within a long-bed barrow with an inner post-setting (*Type Vledder*) and the Dwingeloo razor (DB2748) was found within an elongated barrow with a double outer post-setting. For these elongated (long-bed) barrow types, it has been argued that these may represent founder burials for heads of households, around which younger-period interments clustered, and which may have symbolized the ties between the living and the ancestors of the local community (Roymans & Kortlang 1999: 42–51). While such razor graves may thus have formed founder burials dating to the transition of the Middle to the Late Bronze Age in their respective urnfields, the association of razors with distinct mound bodies lasted into the Iron Age. The Noordbarg iron razor (DB2740) originated from a central grave under a barrow 10 m in diameter, that was enclosed by a 2 m wide ditch (Kooi 1979: 15 fig. 8; Arnoldussen & Albers 2015: 159 fig. 6). The razor from the ‘princely’ Ha C grave of Oss underlay a barrow 52 m in diameter (Fokkens 1997: 1). The preference for a more monumental appearance for burials with razors, could

also explain their placement into older Neolithic tombs. To the Harenermolen Bell-Beaker barrow, three interments with asymmetrical ship-shaped razors (or fragments) were added as secondary interments to the third mound period (DB 1373; DB1380; DB1377; Lanting 1979). This could also explain the recovery of the Emmen (DB1745) razor from within the chamber area of Funnel Beaker period (TRB) passage tomb D42: the – then presumably still mound-capped – megalithic tomb provided a distinctive setting for the addition of a Late Bronze Age secondary interment (cf. Koops 2008: 45). Despite such – albeit anecdotal – evidence for the association of distinctive monuments with razor graves, funerary monuments were not a prerequisite: at Wedderveer a razor was put into a barrowless (flat) grave (DB1384), and the Drouwen 1939 razor (DB1292) was recovered from a set of two urns placed inside a stone-packing (but with no evidence for a mound; Van Giffen 1943, afb. 45a–b).

The exact roles that the razors may have played in the funerary rites will have differed. In a series of graves from the northern Netherlands, the degree and location of fragmentation suggests that razor fragments – rather than complete razors – were interred (e.g. DB1194; DB1373; DB1377). For the fragmented razors that still retained part of a blade, curation and continued use may be assumed, but is also possible that breakage was part of the funerary rite (of decommissioning the razor), perhaps after a final instance of use on the deceased or the mourners (cf. Woodward 2000: 115; Brück & Fontijn 2013: 209). In the cases where complete razors were interred, these seem to reflect intensive wear from resharpening/whetting (loss of blade area; e.g. DB1194; DB1234; DB1263; DB1745; DB2748) or peening (blade deformation; e.g. DB1292). Particularly the changes in blade shape may reflect lifelong usage, which could – but need not – indicate personal ownership. Some razor blades were presumably well protected during life, as indications of a leather casing were found on the Lheeweg (DB1985) razor. Possibly, some razors were repaired in antiquity (DB1181). Few razor blades show modest to little evidence of wear (taphonomy permitting), but maybe the tanged razors from Drouwen (DB1230) and Gasteren (DB1236) or the *Typ Irlich* razor from Echt (DB2762) entered the grave in a better or new condition. Only the Amby (DB2750) razor showed clear signs of burning, suggesting that it had been part of the goods burned on the pyre.

The date range reflected by the Dutch later prehistoric razors spans the 16th century BC into the Ha D period, but most razors are dated by their associated objects or encasing urn to the period of c. 1125–750 BC. The oldest dated examples are the tanged razor from Drouwen that formed part of a Sögel-Wohlde funerary set (c. 1575–1475 BC; DB1230) and the pegged Pantalica-type razor from the Ommerschans hoard (c. 1500–1350 BC; DB1759). The only radiocarbon-dated razor is the one from

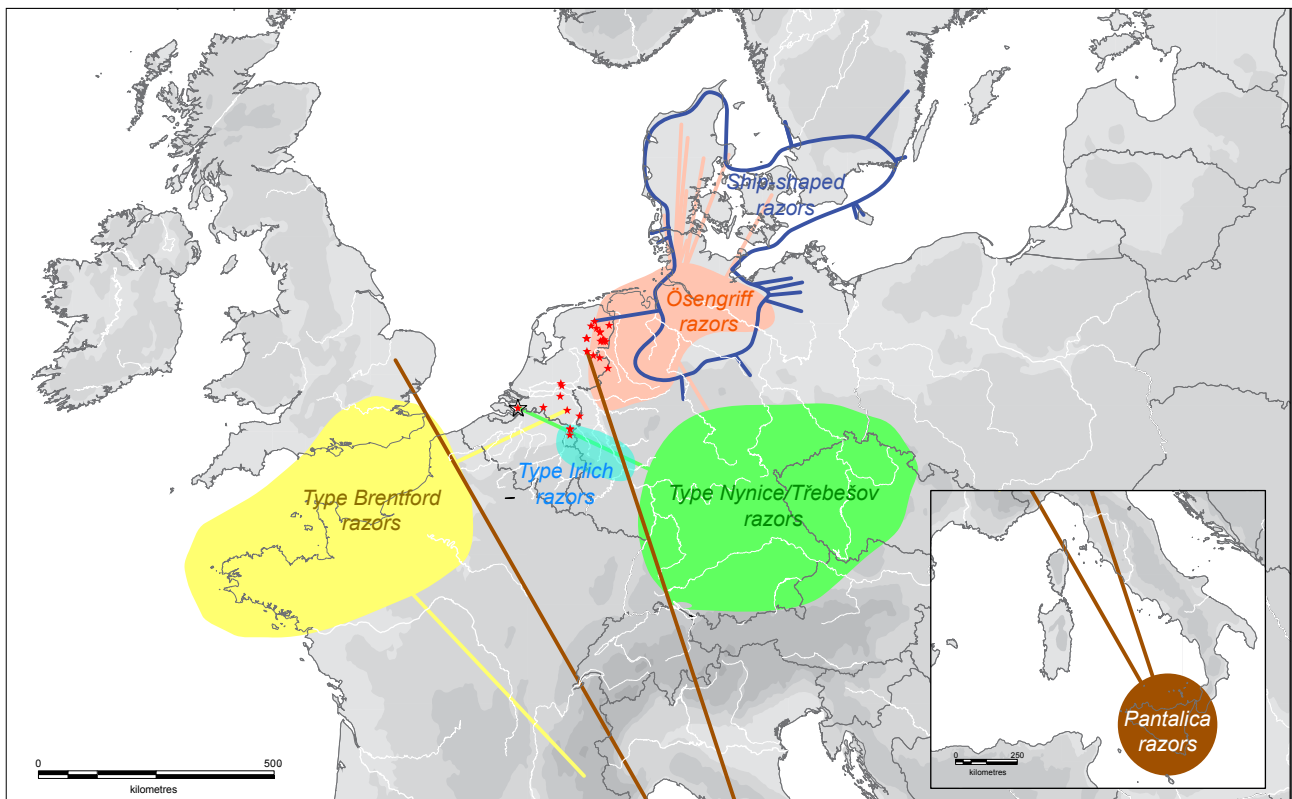


Fig. 20. Interregional affinities of Dutch Bronze Age razors. Figure S. Arnoldussen (Groningen Institute of Archaeology, University of Groningen).

Dwingeloo, whose associated cremation could be dated to 1285–1135 BC (DB2748). The youngest dated razors (Ha C/D; 800–480 BC) are the iron examples from Losser (DB2742), Noordbarghe (DB2740) and Oss (DB2731). Specific razor types may have known long periods of currency: whereas Dwingeloo (DB2748) may be the oldest date for a *Typ Schledebrück* razor, the association with a Ha B1 knife in the Bargerroosterveld hoard of 1899 (DB1181) suggests that this type spanned the 13th to 11th or 10th century BC. Similarly, tanged razors occur from the 16th century BC (Drouwen; DB1230) into the 12th century BC (Gasteren; DB1263). For most razor types, however, too few Dutch specimens are available for discussing type longevity.

As to objects commonly associated with razors in the funerary assemblages, three combinations with tweezers (see below) are known. In two cases (DB1292; DB2748), the tweezers were the only other item recovered, whereas at Gasteren (DB1263) a flint flake and two discoid whetstones were recovered as well. Presumed drinking cups (*Henkeltasse*) were added inside the urn alongside razors in two cases (DB1194; DB1648), or they were placed outside the urn (DB2740) or used as a lid to close the urn (DB1380). Whetstones also frequently accompany razors (DB1194; DB1230; DB1263), and in two cases a set of two whetstones appears to be present (DB1194; DB1263, cf. Aschemeyer 1961: 32; 76 Taf. 1A; Jockenhövel 1980: 157 No. 573; Taf. 80A). In two other

cases, bronze razors were associated with incomplete ‘urnfield’ knives. In the case of the Bargerroosterveld hoard (DB1181) this was a tanged knife missing its tip, in the Amby case (DB2750) this was a fragment of a socketed knife (Butler, Arnoldussen & Steegstra 2012: 73). The Wedderveer grave (DB1384) contained a pin as well as a razor. In terms of ‘toilet sets’, the association with tweezers is most notable (cf. Montelius 1917, No. 1105), yet the recurrent association with whetstones may warn against too strict a definition for such sets. The only two other evident “funerary assemblage” associations are that with the Sögel-Wöhlde grave goods in the grave at Drouwen (DB1230, cf. Fontijn 2003: 228; 345–347; Vandkilde 1996: 156–159) and the incorporation of an iron razor into the extensive elite Hallstatt-inspired Ha C burial set of the Chieftain of Oss (DB2731; Van der Vaart-Verschoof 2017: 176–198). As these two assemblages represent the oldest and youngest examples, the conclusion is permissible that in the intervening 14th–9th centuries, no more extensive or more standardised funerary sets comprising razors (other than the already noted prominence of tweezers and whetstones) can be identified for the Low Countries.

Both in the types of razors recovered and in their associated artefacts, different supra-regional connections can be identified (Fig. 20). The probably Sicilian ultimate origin of the Ommerschans razor (D1759) testifies to the scale of contact networks of that period – a fact

also shown by the distribution of the Ommerschans-Plougrescant ceremonial dirks (Amkreutz & Fontijn 2017). The Drouwen (DB1230) razor fits within a Sögel-Wohlde interaction zone extending across Jutland, northwest Germany, Mecklenburg and southwards into Hessen (Butler 1986: 150). For the asymmetrical ship-shaped razors from Harenermolen (DB1373; DB1380) Drouwen (1939; DB1292) and Sleen (DB2752), the best parallels are to be found in southern Scandinavia and northern Germany. The *Ösengriff* razor from Wedderveer (DB1384) is part of a group of similarly shaped razors that appear native to the northern German and adjacent Dutch area, and that may trace the gateway for the procurement of the previously mentioned ship-shaped razors (DB1292; DB1373; DB1380; DB2752). Yet, more networks than just the Nordic one were in play. The Brentford-type razor from Deurne (DB1620) could theoretically substantiate an Atlantic contact network (possible western French origin?), but as this find has only an antiques dealer's provenance, this connection is suspect. Integration into the central European Urnfield Culture (*Urnenfelderkultur*; UFK) networks can more credibly be argued for. The *Typ Irlich* razors (DB2762; Jockenhövel 1980: 85-86) may be a product of the German Neuwied and Dutch Limburg areas. Imports from UFK areas also can be identified. The Amby razor (DB2750) fits a group of razors with identical blade shape that cluster in the Upper Rhine areas of Neckar, Main and Moselle, and the accompanying fragment of a socketed knife has clear Palafitte affinities (Butler, Arnoldussen & Steegstra 2012: 78 fig. 8; 79; 83). Whether the affinities of the Halsteren objects should be sought in the southeast German/Austrian Nynice and Třeběšov types (Jockenhövel 1980, *Taf.* 47B) or rather in more southern (French) urnfield groups is a moot point, as they only have an antiques dealer's provenance.

3.2 Dutch tweezers in their depositional context

The contextual associations of the Dutch tweezers – like the razors – are decidedly funerary in nature. Ten tweezers originate certainly from urnfield cemeteries, and for four more examples this is plausible.¹⁶ Moreover, five tweezers originate from secondary interments into older funerary monuments (DB546; DB1204; DB1275; DB2272 and DB 2737). Another three tweezers may originate from interments without covering mounds (DB1214; DB1293 and DB2738). For just three tweezers no funerary association can be argued for: a metal-detection find (DB2573), a pair of tweezers from a levelled dwelling mound (DB2732) and one from Epe (DB2739) for which there is no contextual information. It is important to stress that often the context

from which tweezers were recovered, stands out in the urnfield owing to the prominence of the funerary monument, or the composition of the grave-goods assemblage. For example, the tweezers from Gasteren (DB1262), Dwingelo (DB2749) and Oldenzaal (DB2062) were all recovered from elongated barrow types known as long-bed barrows (Dutch: *langbedden*) with post-settings (DB2749) or post-settings within ditches (DB1262; DB2062). The pair of tweezers and razor from the elongated post-setting at Dwingeloo are radiocarbon-dated to c. 1285-1135 BC, the long-bed barrows of Vledder type (DB1262; DB2062) presumably date to c. 1380-920 cal. BC (De Vries 2012: 15; Lanting & Van der Plicht 2003: 214), confirming a relatively early date in the urnfield period. This association of tweezers with a rarer (and relatively older) type of tomb could hint at a special significance or status of those interred, and perhaps the incorporation of tweezers was fitting to this social position. The fact that tweezers were part of the assemblages of the 'princely' graves of Slabroek (DB2756) and Rhenen (DB2754) shows that this connotation may have been long-lived, and was still observed in the Ha C period.

There is ample variation in the condition and treatment of the tweezers used in the burial rites. Some tweezers were worn (DB2730) or repaired in prehistory (DB2272), some were wrapped in cord (DB2080), and yet others may have been folded-over (DB2754) prior to interment. Also important is that both burned (DB724) and unburnt (DB2066) tweezers occur in the same urnfield (Hilbertshaar). This signals that tweezers could either (as private possessions or otherwise) accompany the deceased onto the pyre or be added in working order to the cremated remains (by the mourners) – and that this could vary in individual cases.

The long-term use of tweezers as grave goods during later prehistory is well attested in the Dutch data. The association at Gairle of a pair of tweezers with a palstave attributed to the 16th-15th century BC (DB1399) represents the oldest available date so far. The absolute date of the Dwingeloo tweezers (DB2749) in the final three centuries of the Middle Bronze Age-B (c. 1500-1000 BC) is matched by the pair of tweezers found in a Gasteren-type urn (DB1235) which dates to the same time-slot (Arnoldussen 2008: 409 note 147; Lanting & Van der Plicht 2003: 162; 213). Typochronological dates for the associated urns (*zweiheklige Terrinen*, *Henkelgefässe*) moreover place several tweezers in the Late Bronze Age (c. 1100-800 BC; DB549; DB724; DB1293). The association of the Garderen tweezers (DB2272) with a *Schräghals* pot, and the ornaments (DB2756) and horse gear (DB2754) from the 'princely graves' of Slabroek

16 Certain: DB549; DB1262, DB1269; DB2062; DB2066, DB2080, DB2730; DB2749, DB2754 and DB2756. Plausible: DB569; DB1029; DB1030 and DB2120.

and Rhenen documents continuation of the tradition of using tweezers as grave goods into the Early Iron Age (c. 800–600 BC).¹⁷

In terms of funerary assemblages, the most common associations of tweezers are rings (DB1399; DB2066, DB2755 and DB2756) and razors (DB1262; DB1293; DB2749). Amber beads were found with tweezers twice (DB1235; DB2756). Rings, razors and beads may have formed a functional assemblage, in which a toilet set was held in an organic (leather? DB2756) pouch, fastened by the amber bead.¹⁸ According to Bergerbrandt (2007: 69–70) such pouches – sometimes closed by a pin (cf. DB1204) – were found placed near the waist or left arm of males in Scandinavian Bronze Age inhumation graves. The Ha C princely grave of Uden Slabroek (DB2756) with its nail-cutter, ring with leather attached, and amber bead may be the most complete Dutch representation of such a pouched ‘toilet set’ (Van der Vaart-Verschoof 2017: 227). Also notable is that no weapons are associated with tweezers beyond reasonable doubt: the tweezers fragments from Sleenerzand (DB1253; a barrow with bronze tanged arrowheads) may present an erroneously associated Late Bronze Age object, for which a function as tweezers is also not beyond doubt (Butler 1990: 86), and the association of DB1029 with a spearhead is also speculative (Verlinde 1987: 173).

Whereas many of the types of Dutch tweezers recovered may reflect locally current (yet more widely distributed; cf. Tackenberg 1971, *Karte* 33–37) types, a

few tweezers hint at supra-regional origins or affinities. The torsion decoration on the Enumerhoogte tweezers (DB2732) is common in Hallstatt assemblages (cf. Fig. 25; Van der Vaart-Verschoof 2017: 221–227; Ney 2017: 320–323) and the torsion-decorated nail-cutter and pin in the Slabroek assemblage situated 200 km further south are the closest parallel (DB2756). The decorated tweezers from Goirle tumulus VI (DB1399) are matched by examples in the Nordic realm (cf. Baudou 1960, *Taf.* 8 no XIIb-2 or Central Germany (e.g. Kubach 1977, *Taf.* 117 D2). Interesting is that the axe from the Goirle grave is also of clearly non-local (Hungarian Plain?) origin (Butler 1995/1996: 200). An obviously Nordic origin (Elber-Weser region: cf. Tackenberg 1971, *Karte* 34) may moreover be proposed for the tweezers with dot-circle motifs from the Groevenbeekse heide (DB569), for which unfortunately contextual information is absent. Similarly, the Nordic affiliation of the wide-bladed Drouwen (DB1293) tweezers with triangular decoration is supported by parallels (e.g. Tackenberg 1971, *Karte* 29) for the ship-derivative Nordic razor (DB1292) also found in that urn.

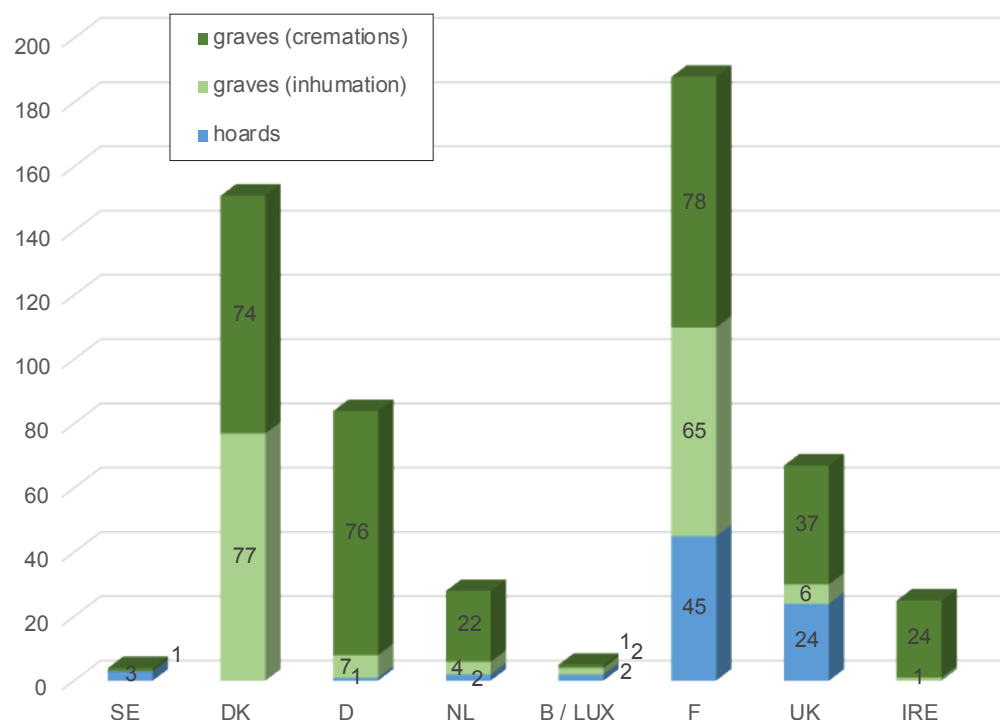
3.3 Dutch later prehistoric razors and tweezers in their European context

Following up on the above discussion of the state of the artefacts, their contexts of recovery, dating evidence and associated items for the Dutch later prehistoric tweezers and razors individually, they will now be

Fig. 21. Contexts for Bronze Age razors as specified in a series of key publications¹⁹ for Sweden (SE; no dedicated survey undertaken), Denmark (DK), Germany (D), The Netherlands (NL), Belgium and Luxembourg (B / LUX), France (F), the United Kingdom (UK) and Ireland (IRE).

* see note 19 for references.

Figure S. Arnoldussen (Groningen Institute of Archaeology, University of Groningen).



¹⁷ See Steuer 2003; Verwers & Van Tent 2015 for continued use of tweezers as grave goods in and after the Roman period.

¹⁸ Van der Vaart-Verschoof 2017: 227; Van der Vaart-Verschoof & Schumann 2017: 18; Ney 2017: 322.

discussed jointly in their broader northwest European context.

Using a quickscan of a series of publications¹⁹, an impression of the types of contexts of recovery for Bronze Age razors has been compiled (Fig. 21). Completeness was not the aim, but the number of cases inventoried (n=782) means that for most areas (i.e. those with n>10) their relative distribution across categories such as hoards, inhumation graves and cremations can be considered representative.

From the overview of European contexts of Bronze Age razors (Fig. 21) it is clear that across northwestern Europe razors predominantly originate from funerary contexts. Only in the Atlantic sphere (France, United Kingdom) do they figure in hoards to any degree. In France and Denmark, razors are interred with inhumation graves and cremation graves in equal measure, but in the Netherlands, Germany and the British Isles cremation graves figure far more prominently. Across the categories of inhumations and cremation graves, the numbers listed here mask the occurrence of stone-packings with both inhumation graves (56 in Denmark, 14 in France) and cremation graves (67 in Denmark, 18 in Germany, 1 in the UK and 1 in the Netherlands).

The state of the items interred varies: in the Dutch corpus, pristine objects appear rarely, yet tweezers seem usually to have entered the grave intact (and functional). Only rarely do Dutch razors and tweezers seem to have been burnt on the pyre. On the whole, Dutch razors and tweezers both show signs of moderate to intensive use – with some razors being considerably worn down. Similar patterns can be observed in other regions too (Jockenhövel 1980: 30–31). For the razors from northwestern Germany, Drescher (1963: 138) states that the degree of wear suggests that razors were life-long personal possessions (*‘...daß die Klingen, welche wir in den Gräbern zum Gebrauch auf der Reise ins Jenseits finden, ihre Besitzer ein Leben lang begleiteten’*). Jockenhövel (1980: 30–31; 2003: 138) also noted the ample wear on Bronze Age razors from western Europe and speculated whether razors might have been gifted upon initiation (puberty?) and were kept until death without replacement or exchange. Razor blades may show signs of repairs to ensure longevity (Jockenhövel 1971: 5; 1980: 30), as do some tweezers (DB2272; Aschemeyer 1966: 83 Taf. 8B No. 3).

In order to have them last a lifetime, razors and tweezers were well protected. For the Dutch tweezers, we have argued that they may have been housed in organic pouches closed and fastened with (amber) beads. Remains of a wooden tweezers case – preserved in blade corrosion – were observed in Schleswig-Holstein

(Schwantes 1939: 329), but organic pouches are more common (Drescher 1963: 140). The cutting edges of razors also required protection. A leather case may have shielded the fragile sheet-bronze razor from Dwingelo-Lheeweg. From Schleswig-Holstein and Denmark (Dresscher 1963: 139–140; Nowothnig 1958: 166) and the British Isles and France (Jockenhövel 1980: 30) leather and wooden razor cases are also known. In the *palafitte* area, similar wooden razor cases have been recovered (e.g. Groß 1883: fig. 26; Taf. 14; Egloff 1972: 10).

For the Dutch razors, it was observed that in three cases fragments rather than intact razors were interred. This was also noted for 13 razors in Jockenhövel’s inventory, and he suggested – as has been proposed for the Dutch examples – that this represents deliberate acts of decommissioning by the mourners: *“Diese intentionelle Unbrauchbarmachung ist wahrscheinlich im Zusammenhang mit bestimmten Deponierungssitten zu sehen: Die Rasiermesser sollten nicht mehr weiter benutzt werden (nach dem Tode des Besitzers?)”* (Jockenhövel 1980: 31).

Unfortunately, the prehistoric owners of razors and tweezers remain rather obscure in terms of age, gender and status. Whereas the interpretation of graves with razors (and tweezers) as those of adult males is common (Sørensen 1989: 459; Jockenhövel 2003: 138; Steuer 2003: 138) and has even been considered axiomatic, biological determination of sex is rare (cf. Jockenhövel 1975: 9), meaning that most sexing is archeological and based on artefact associations (Bergerbrandt 2007: 8). At Dwingeloo, a set of a razor (DB2748) and a pair of tweezers (DB2749) was interred with a cremation that contained the burnt bones of two adult males (> 40 yr; pers. comm. F. Verhagen, Feb. 2018). Associations of possible razors with female-identified graves are rare (but see Jockenhövel 1980: 39 No. 72; 43 No. 109; 82 No. 238; 101 No. 310). For the toilet set containing tweezers from Uden (DB2756), it is unclear whether it was interred with a female or a male (Jansen *et al.* 2011: 111) and in the Iron Age an association with a female grave is not improbable (cf. Krüger 1961: 22; 29; Tackenberg 1975: 173). With regards to social standing, we have argued for the Netherlands that the types of graves from which relatively many razors originated, hint at a special prominence (of those graves, and of those interred there). Six razors and three Dutch tweezers originated from elongated or long-bed barrows, which are taken to represent founder’s monuments that guided later urnfield development (Roymans & Kortlang 1999: 42–51). Kooi (1979: 17) interpreted the barrow from which the Noordbarge razor (DB2740) originated as a ‘conspicuous’ monument fit for a tribal chief. The razor from Oss (DB2731) came

19 Aner & Kersten 1973; 1976; 1977a–b; 1978; 1979; 1981; 1990; 1991; 1993; Aner, Kersten & Willroth 2001; Eogan 1983; Jacob-Friesen 1967; Jockenhövel 1971; 1980; Kersten, Koch & Willroth 2011; Menke 1972; Sprockhoff 1956a–b; Tackenberg 1971.

from what is still the largest Early Iron Age barrow in the Netherlands (52 m diam.; Fokkens 1997: 1), which suggests that a privileged (elite?) connotation for razors persisted well into the Iron Age. For the southeastern French necropolises of Mailhac-Moulin and Cazevielle, the low frequency of razors (c. 8-10% of the graves) has been interpreted as a funerary tradition in which only heads of households were supplied with razors in the grave (Jockenhövel 1980: 31). This linkage of razors (as proxies for styles of facial hair) to (elite) identity may owe much to Diodorus Siculus' description of the shaven cheeks of Gaulish nobility.²⁰ Such observations cannot be uncritically projected back into prehistory, but that razors (and tweezers) were used to distinguish certain persons in both life and death remains probable.²¹ The nature of such social distinction (by age, through achievement, religious, hereditary) and the scale of recognition (household, household group, tribe) thereof, must remain open questions for now (cf. Jockenhövel 2003: 31). Analysis of the associated objects may shed light on such possibilities.

On the basis of an inventory of 782 object associations of Bronze Age razors and/or tweezers in hoards and funerary contexts²², supra-regional and regional comparisons in object associations can be made. For a total of 82 hoards with razors, associated objects have been inventoried (Fig. 22)

It is clear that weapons (swords, spearheads, daggers), tools (axes) and ornaments (rings, pins and bracelets) occur in frequent ($n > 20$ cases) association with razors in hoards, and that the hoards from the Atlantic interaction zone dominate this distribution. The fuller ranges of associated objects seen in such Atlantic hoards is broadly similar for France and the British Isles, and from the other regions selected objects appear to be absent (e.g. swords in Scandinavia, daggers in the Netherlands). It seems unlikely that in such associations much information on past perception or usage of Bronze Age razors or tweezers is encoded. At best, attempts at decoding illustrate that razors and tweezers (in addition to a wide spectrum of other objects), were

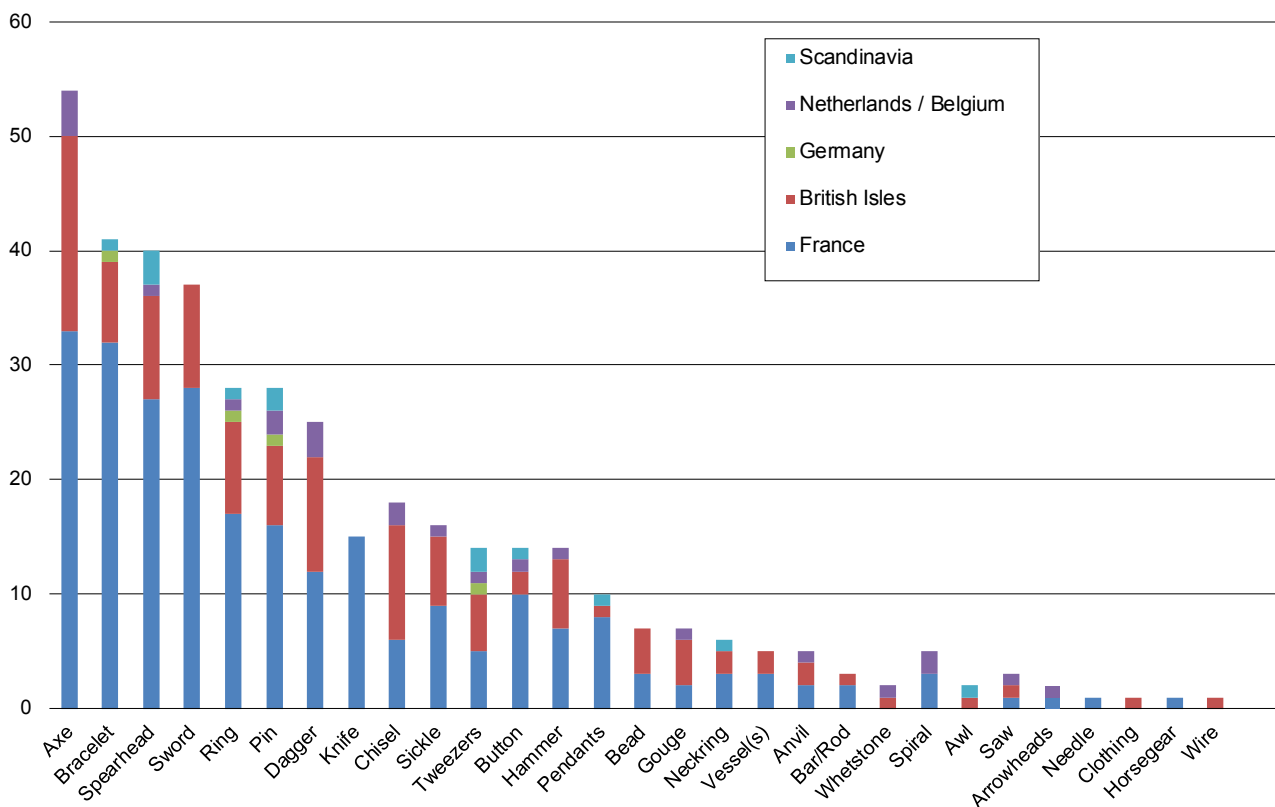


Fig. 22. Associated objects for 82 hoards with razors from different parts of Europe. See note 19 for references. Figure S. Arnoldussen (Groningen Institute of Archaeology, University of Groningen).

²⁰ Biliothecae historicae V.28.

²¹ Milcent (2015: 30-31) classifies razors as elite gear, associated with appearance and beauty – especially during ceremonies in the LBA1-EIA1 periods (op. cit: 32 tab. 3.1).

²² See note 19 for references.

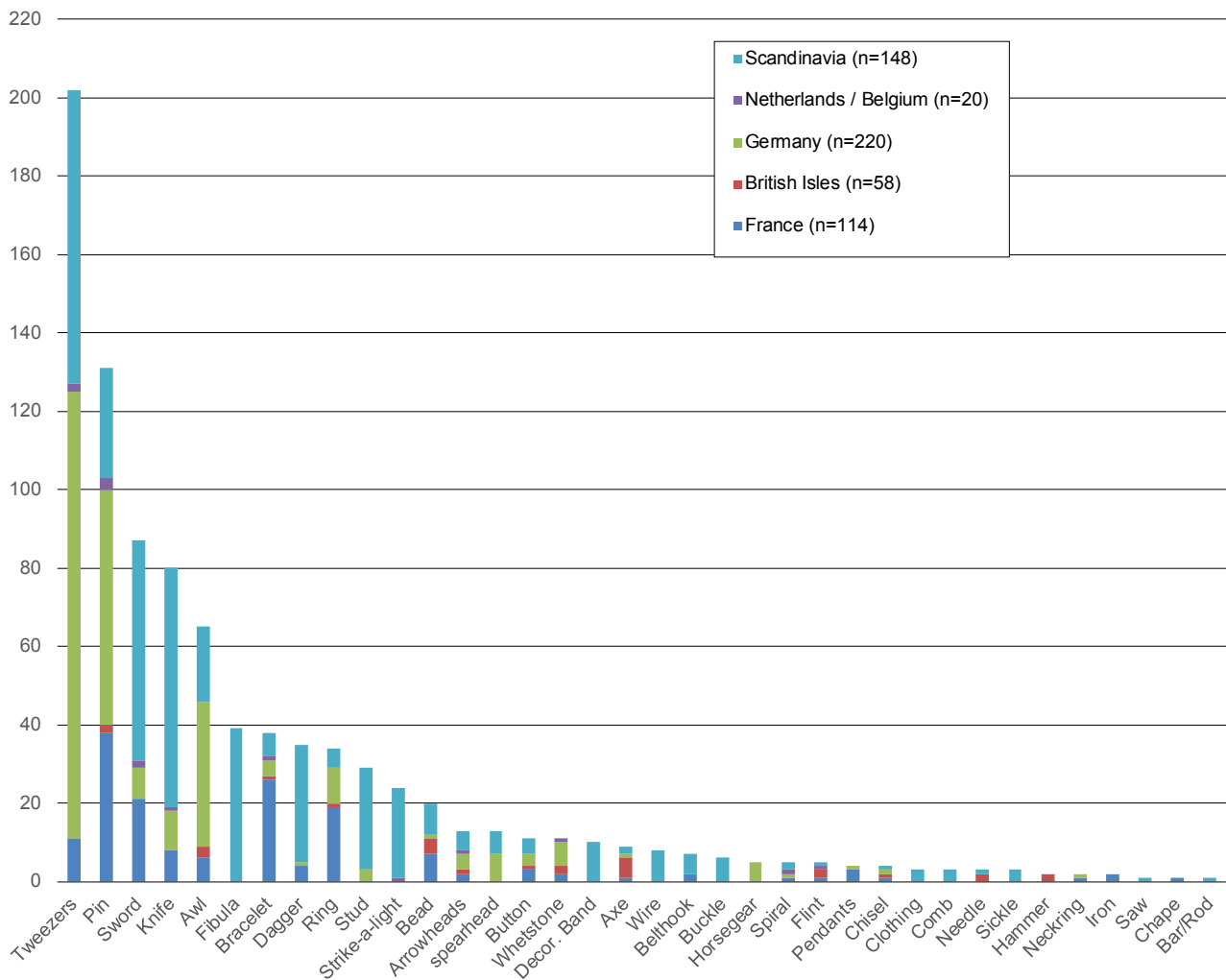


Fig. 23. Items associated with razors in 569 funerary contexts from different parts of Europe. Figure S. Arnoldussen (Groningen Institute of Archaeology, University of Groningen).

deemed suitable for incorporation into Late Bronze Age hoards in the Atlantic sphere.²³

For the razors and tweezers from funerary contexts, more revealing results may be expected: there, associations may form standardised sets of either personal belongings, standardized funerary sets to represent a (standardized, *e.g.* warrior) *persona* of the deceased or (decommissioned) items reflecting the community of mourners and their activities, *e.g.* feasting, scarification, tattooing, shaving. Through recurring association, ties between functional object categories (*e.g.* toilet sets, weapons, tools etc) may come to the fore and help in reconstructing the identities expressed by the deceased. Artefacts associated with razors have been inventoried for a total of 569 funerary contexts (Fig. 23).

From the inventory of objects associated with razors in graves, clear regional differences can be identified. First of all, there is a clear reversal in prominence

of the Atlantic regions (France, British Isles) versus Scandinavia and Germany when compared to hoards (Fig. 22). Clearly, the occurrence of razors in graves is something that is particular to the Nordic interaction zone (southern Scandinavia, northwestern Germany and adjacent northeastern Netherlands). Secondly, from their near-exclusive occurrence in those regions, strike-a-lights, studs, brooches, knives and daggers appear elements of the standardized funerary kits of razor graves in the Nordic realm. Thirdly, for the German region, tweezers, pins and awls (or tattooing needles?) appear to be frequently associated, whereas among the French data pins, bracelets, swords and rings take centre-stage. Another important observation is the strong correlation between razors and tweezers: no other artefact types occur more frequently in association, albeit that the geographic distribution of the cases at hand suggests that this too is mainly a southern Scandinavian

23 Bradley 1990: 112-128; O'Connor 2007: 71; Armada & Martínón-Torres 2016

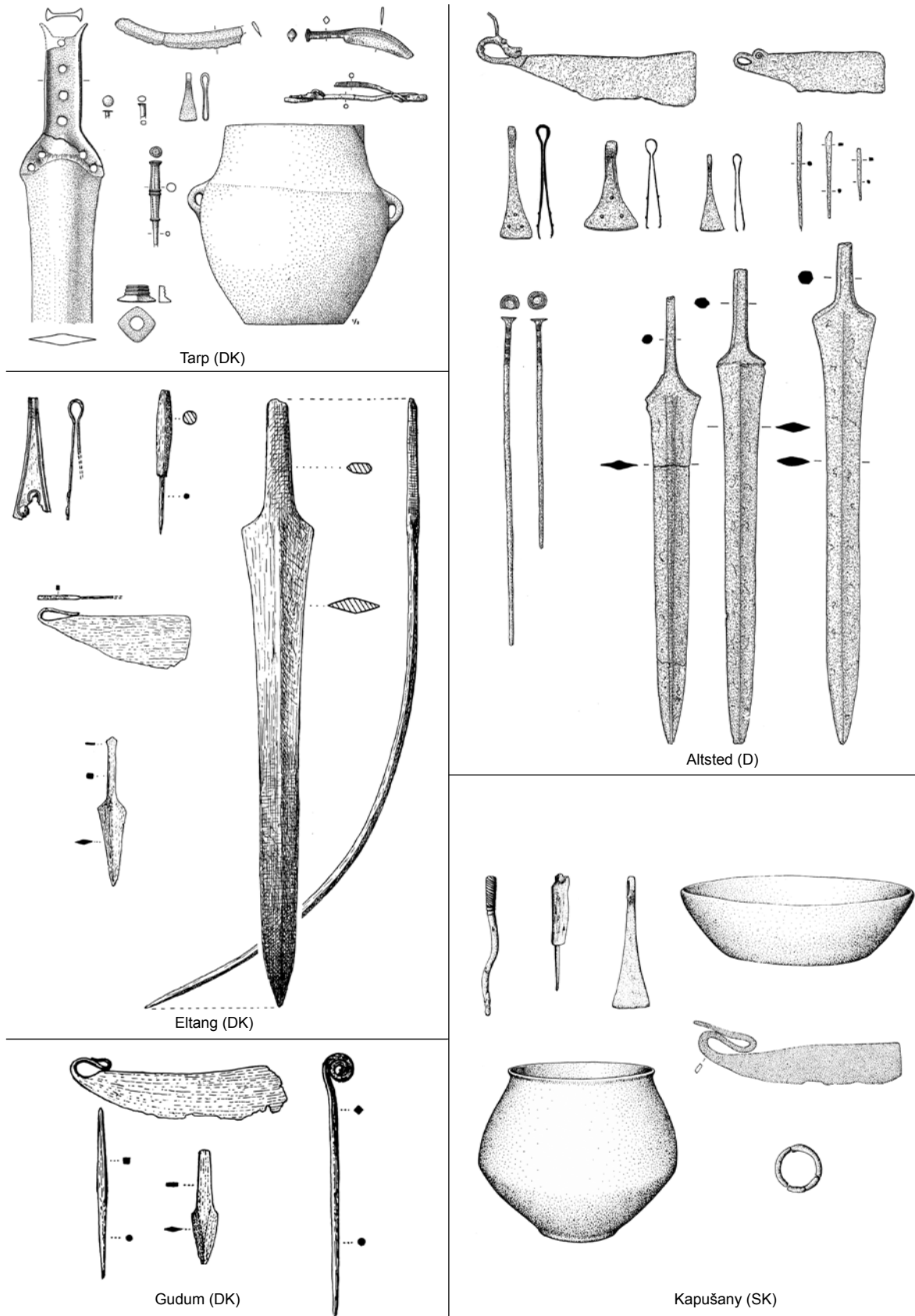


Fig. 24. Funerary associations of the standardised Nordic Per. IV-V toilet set of razor, tweezers and tattooing awl. Germany: Altstadt (after Laux 2017, Taf. 103 nos. 3.13); Denmark: Tarp (after Aner & Kersten 1978, Taf. 32 No. 2323), Eltang (after Baudou 1960, Taf. XXIV No. 37) and Gudum (after Baudou 1960, Taf. XXV No. 388); Slovakia: Kapušany (from Kaul 1998: 276 fig. 174). Objects not to scale.



Fig. 25. Examples of Hallstatt C/D toilet sets comprising tweezers, ear-scoops and nail-cutters. Top left: Matzendorf and Hub, Bavaria (*Historisches Museum Regensburg*, Inv. Nos A1250 and 1978/71 respectively (wikipedia.org/wiki/datei:toilettbestecke_regensburg.jpg)); top right: Uden-Slabroek, after Van der Vaart-Verschoof 2017: 222 fig. C32.1; bottom left: Hastrup, after Jensen 1969, card 23; centre bottom: Nidderau, after Ney 2017: 321 fig. 2; lower right: Maising, after Kossack 1959, Taf. 88 nos 11-12. Objects not to scale.

and northwest German phenomenon. Even so, the dominance of tweezers in graves – and their scarce occurrence in other contexts (settlements, hoards) – strengthens the ties between razors and tweezers as part of a ‘grooming set’, that probably comprised tattooing needles (misidentified as awls?) as well (cf. Kaul 1998a: 150). Whilst there may be typological (and taphonomical) blurring between descriptions of ‘pins’ and ‘awls’ from funerary contexts, the strongest case that such ‘awls’ served different purposes from pins is provided by contexts in which both are present (Fig. 24). A spectacular example may be the German deposit of Altstadt (Fig. 24, top right), which contains a double or triple toilet set (two razors and three awls/tattooing needles, three tweezers, two pins and three miniature swords (Laux 2017: 235; Taf. 103 nos. 3.13). From Tarp in Denmark a funerary assemblage comprising a carp’s-tongue sword,

knife, brooch, two pins, razor blade and full-hilted awl/tattooing needle is known (Fig. 24, top left: Aner & Kersten 1978: 97; Taf. 32 No. 2323). At Eltang (Amt Vejle), the ‘standard’ toilet set of razor, tattooing awl and tweezers is supplemented with an arrowhead and sword (Fig. 24, middle left; Baudou 1960: 318; Taf. XXIV No. 371). At Gudum (Amt Vejle), an awl/tattooing needle and spiral-head pin were found with a razor and arrowhead (but here the tweezers are lacking from the ‘standard’ set; Fig. 24, lower left: Baudou 1960: 318; Taf. XXV No. 388). In Slovakia, the grave of Kapušany yielded a similar set of pin, tweezers, razors and awl/tattooing needle (Fig. 24, lower right; Kaul 1998: 276 fig. 174). In the Nordic sphere of influence, this triad of awl/tattooing needle, razor and tweezers appears commonplace in Per. IV to V (Fig. 24; cf. Torbrügge 1959: 66; Baudou 1960: 40). In all probability, it is not until the Ha C period that

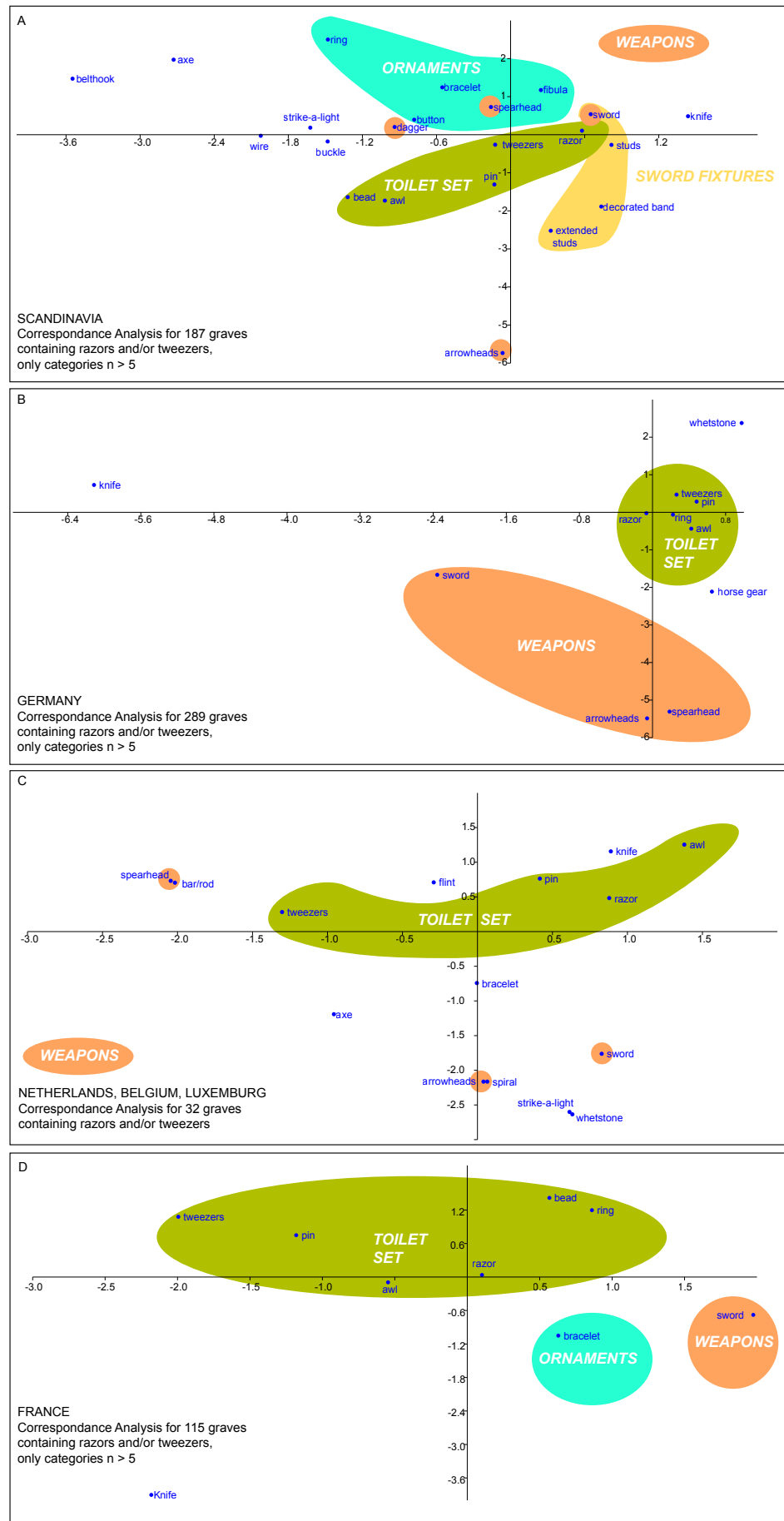


Fig. 26. Correspondence analyses (using PAST; Hammer, Harper & Ryan 2001) of objects associated with razors and/or tweezers in funerary contexts from Scandinavia (A), Germany (B), the Netherlands, Belgium & Luxembourg (C) and for France (D). See note 19 for primary data. Figure S. Arnoldussen (Groningen Institute of Archaeology, University of Groningen).

a novel primary association for tweezers becomes dominant: a different (but related) grooming set in which nail-cleaners and ear-scoops – accompanied by tweezers, and occasionally razors – are suspended from a ring (Fig. 25, cf. Baudou 1960: 44).

As revealing as such regional summaries may seem, they may equally mask more specific underlying object associations (e.g. hypothetically, two discrete sets of grave goods that share no other item than the razor). To investigate whether this is the case with our data, a correspondence analysis (using PAST; Hammer, Harper & Ryan 2001) of the artefact associations in funerary contexts was undertaken. For the Scandinavian cases ($n=197$), only categories were included that occurred in five or more cases (hence excluding iron fragments, flint flakes, bronze needles or saws, combs, spirals and pendants).

For the Scandinavian data (Fig. 26, A), the central association of a toilet set comprising razors, tweezers, pins, beads and 'awls' is clear. Directly outside this grooming complex, a weapons complex consisting of swords, spearheads and daggers is found. As for the studs, the finds from grave 17 at Hvidegård (Aner & Kersten 1973: 143 No. 399; Taf. 83) suggest that these may have formed part of the leather fittings connecting scabbard to belt. Amongst the other frequently associated items, groups of ornaments (e.g. brooches, bracelets, buttons), tools (e.g. knives, axes, strike-a-lights) and belt/pouch fittings (e.g. buckles, belthooks, rings and wire fragments) can be identified. For the German graves ($n=289$), daggers, studs, buttons, bracelets, beads, neckrings, brooches, pendants, spirals, wire fragments, chisels and axes all occurred less than four times and were omitted from the correspondence analyses (Fig. 26, B). The resultant plot indicates a compact central cluster for the grooming set, and a weapons complex containing swords, arrowheads and spearheads. Associated with the Scandinavian data set, horse-gear and whetstones appear as regionally specific additions.

For the already modest ($n=32$) dataset for the Netherlands, Belgium and Luxemburg, only razors ($n=20$) and tweezers ($n=14$) meet the criterion of more than five instances listed. To allow proper execution of the correspondence analysis and to chart the range of associated items, all cases have been incorporated (Fig. 26, C). In the Low Countries, the basic grooming or toilet set is recognisable, but other associations, with weapons (e.g. two²⁴ swords, two arrowheads, one spearhead), tools (two axes, one knife, one whetstone, one strike-a-light, one flint flake) and ornaments (two bracelets) are infrequent. It is clear that in the types of associated artefacts other than razors and tweezers, in part a Nordic (i.e. Scandinavian and northwest German) affinity may

be presumed. Whetstones and strike-a-lights in particular form part of such Nordic assemblages, but are absent in the French examples (Fig. 26, D).

Amongst the 115 inventoried French graves, certain weapon-associated objects (daggers, arrowheads, belt-hooks, chapes), tools (chisels, axes, whetstones, iron or flint fragments) and ornaments (pendants, neckrings and spirals) occur in frequencies ($n<5$) too modest to be incorporated into the correspondence analysis (Fig. 26, D). Here again, a central association of a toilet set comprising razor, tweezers, awls and pins can be identified, and the beads and rings may be related to pouches that once contained the aforementioned. Associations with swords (21 cases) and bracelets (26 cases) are fairly common.

It is clear that the concept of a grooming set essentially comprising razor, tweezers, awl and pin (and sometimes rings, pins or beads for the pouches that contained them) is shared across the four regions, but that ample regional variation existed nonetheless. Items such as studs seem to indicate a Nordic affiliation, whetstones a northwest German-northeastern Dutch affiliation and bracelets a central European Urnfield Culture affiliation. Such differences are evident from variations in the prevalence of certain artefact types. For example, the frequency of swords varies from c. 40% in the Scandinavian data (74 swords in 187 funerary contexts), to c. 3% (8 swords in 289 German funerary contexts), and c. 6% (2 swords out of 32 funerary contexts from Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxemburg) and is c. 18% for the French data (21 swords from 115 funerary contexts). The fact that regions in which swords figure more prominently (Scandinavia, France) are separated by regions in which they are scarce (Germany, Netherlands, Belgium and Luxemburg), should warrant against invalid interpretations of the presence of such items. In the Low Countries, the core assemblage appears to be restricted to the tweezers and razors, but their concurrence is not unique to this region. Associations of razors with tweezers are in fact common in four regions: (1) a zone comprising Belgium, Westfalen and the northern Netherlands, (2) an Atlantic interaction zone comprising southern England, Wales and western France, (3) the southern French urnfields (Jockenhövel 1980: 31; 2003: 138; Sandars 1957: 173 note 2) and southern Scandinavia (Baudou 1960: 40; Tackenberg 1971: 134-149; Sørensen 1989: 459; Steuer 2003: 178). It is thus not the composition of the toilet set *per se* that sets the Low Countries apart, but rather the absence of object associations (weapons complex, tools, ornaments) that are found in the surrounding regions but are lacking here.

24 This pertains to cases of association, not actual object counts.

4. Interpreting the Dutch later prehistoric toilet set

In terms of both composition and dating, it would be a fallacy to envision ‘one’ toilet set in Dutch later prehistory. Essentially, three chronologically distinct contexts of association can be identified. Whilst grouped in discussions earlier in our text, they represent distinct traditions of deposition and may have signalled different modes of usage and values attributed. Below, they are discussed in chronological order. The oldest of these three concerns the razors that are associated with sword blades in the period of 1600–1350 BC. In the Dutch corpus, these are represented by the tanged razor from the Drouwen Sögel-Wohlde grave (DB1230) and the pegged Sicilian razor from the Ommerschans hoard (DB1759)

4.1 The early sword phase

The Drouwen Sögel-Wohlde grave illustrates that in the 16th century, the northern Netherlands were firmly integrated into the Nordic (or north-German? Thrane 2001: 555) network in which such graves were current.²⁵ Vandkilde (2014: 614; 621) argues that such graves reflect male warrior identities that represent the upper hierarchy of pan-European networks of cultural exchange, driven in part by the novelty of the sword (*cf.* Fontijn 2001: 228–229). In the Dutch dataset, tweezers cannot yet be reliably related to such Sögel-Wohlde graves, but they do occur on and off in the southern Scandinavian and north German regions as part of such grave furnishings (Vandkilde 1996: 156–159; Bergerbrandt 2007: 37; 39; 43; 87). Remarkably, whilst possible depositions of weapon sets indicative of warrior identities are known from the southern Low Countries in the 16th century (*viz.* at Overloon; Fontijn 2003: 103), they do not contain razors or tweezers (just pins, swords, spearheads and axes). This could suggest two things: either that in those regions weaponry rather than bodily appearance defined the warrior, or that the rule-sets that applied to the deposition of weaponry (Fontijn 2003: 229–232) did not require deposition of the grooming tools as well – notwithstanding the fact that bodily appearance will have been part and parcel of warrior identities at that time (‘..the conceptualisation of sword-bearing warriors implied bodily adornment as well’; Fontijn 2003: 232).

The special status of swords as emblems of interpersonal conflict may also have been what inspired the creation of aggrandized, non-functional and masterly crafted ‘icons’ of swords of the Ploughrescant-Ommerschans type around 1500–1300 BC (Fontijn 2001;

Amkreutz & Fontijn 2001). Their stylistic uniformity is coupled with a wide west-European distribution, ranging from Brittany (Ploughrescant), central France (Beaune), southeast England (Rudham, Oxborough) to the Low Countries (Jutphaas, Ommerschans). For the Beaune, Oxborough and Jutphaas dirks, their similar alloy composition suggests production in the same workshop (Postma *et al.* 2017: 49–50), yet they were found 690 km apart. Evidently, the presence of a Sicilian (DB1759) razor in the Ommerschans hoard must be understood as reflecting similarly extensive networks of contacts, in which items from faraway parts of Europe were exchanged, and selected for deposition.

4.2 Razors and tweezers: an Urnfield toilet set

The second chronologically distinct phase of the use of tools for bodily adornment in the Netherlands is marked by the incorporation of tweezers, tattooing awls and razors into urnfield-period graves (*c.* 1300–800 BC). In these contexts, the lack of associated weaponry is clear: no razors or tweezers datable to this phase were found associated with a sword, spearhead or arrowheads. Rather, razors are most frequently associated with tweezers, whetstones and ‘regular’ urnfield items such as accessory cups, pins, and occasionally knife fragments.

This absence of weaponry complicates the extrapolation of ‘the association of grooming tools as part of the warrior identity’ from preceding phases into the Middle and Late Bronze Age. But this should not be used to dismiss warrior identities in those periods. Fontijn (2003: 230; 2005: 148–150) has cogently argued that in the southern Netherlands a Bronze Age taboo on the placement of weaponry in graves may have prevailed (*cf.* Roymans & Kortlang 1999: 56; Gerritsen 2003: 129 note 84). North of the river Meuse, Middle Bronze Age graves with weaponry are known in small numbers (Bourgeois 2013: 165 tab. 7.3; Bourgeois & Fontijn 2012: 540–541), but in the three graves with swords datable to *c.* 1300–1000 BC,²⁶ razors and tweezers are again lacking. If a toilet set comprising a razor, tweezers and the occasional tattooing needle was required to constitute the image of a warrior during this period, it was subject to a different biography of deposition compared to the weapons that may equally have defined the martial *persona*.

The fact that different trajectories of deposition applied to grooming tools (which in this period are unknown from contexts other than cemeteries) and weapons means that we cannot be sure about any links between (the rights and responsibilities involved in) bearing arms and particular bodily appearance. But

²⁵ Butler 1986: 149–150; 162; Vandkilde 1996: 156–159; Bergerbrandt 2007: 41

²⁶ Zwaagdijk: Butler 1990 (1992): 102–104, Velsersbroek: Butler & Steegstra 1997/1998, 175–177 and Meteren: Meijlink 2001; Bourgeois & Fontijn 2008, 51–54.

Table 1. Prevalence of razors and tweezers from plausible urnfield contexts in the Netherlands.

DB	Type	Place-Toponym	% razor/ tweezer	Graves	Reference
2762	razor	Echt -Kelvingweg	n.a.	n.a.	
2753	razor	Weert - Boshoverheide	<0,3	>312	Hissel 2013, 101 tab. 7.3; 128 tab. 7.20
2748/2749	razor / pair of tweezers	Dwingeloo - Lheeweg	<1,8	>55	Van Kerkhoven <i>et al.</i> 2017; Kooi 1973
1292/1309/1293	2 razors / pair of tweezers	Drouwen - 1939/1941	<2,1	>141	Van Giffen 1943, 98; afb. 5 no. 57; Kooi 1979 90-96
1384	razor	Wedderveer	<0,7	>143	Van Giffen & Waterbolk 1949, 114 no. 141; abb. 15 no. 32
2750	razor	Ambyerveld - Hagerhof	<1,1	>89	Dyselink & Warmenbol 2012, 59; Dyselink 2013, 54; 95
1262/1263	razor / pair of tweezers	Gasteren - Tum. 42	<0,9	>107	Van Giffen 1945, 80; 83; 105; abb. 15A
1269	pair of tweezers	Gasteren - Tum. 45	<0,9	>107	Van Giffen 1945, 80; 83; 105; abb. 15A
1197	razor	Zeijen - Noordse veld	<0,6	>177	Van Giffen 1949, afb 22a.
724/2066/2080	pair of tweezers	Hilbertshaar	<7,5%	>40	Verlinde 1980, 125(119)-127(121)
2062	pair of tweezers	Oldenzaal - De Tij	<2,6	>38	Verlinde 1980, 80(74)
569	pair of tweezers	Ermelo - Groevenbeekse heide	<0,8	> 370	Verlinde & Hulst 2010, 138-139

that does not mean we can infer nothing about the social standing of those interred in urnfields with razors and tweezers. There is sufficient evidence to suggest that those receiving such items in their graves held a special position in society. First, there is the low prevalence in urnfield cemeteries of metalwork in general (usually <5%) and elements of a toilet set in particular (Table 1)²⁷. For urnfields with more than 50 graves uncovered, the proportion of graves with razors or tweezers is invariably smaller than 2.5 %. With smaller areas of urnfields uncovered this percentage seemingly rises, but only Hilbertshaar appears to be a real outlier with three tweezers from such a small urnfield. This low frequency means that clearly not all (adult) males received razors (or tweezers) in their graves, and has led to the conjecture that such items were reserved for people of particular social prominence such as household or tribal heads (*cf.* Kooi 1979: 17; Jockenhövel 1980: 31).

Second, we have argued that interments with razors or tweezers are frequently recovered from (primary) funerary monuments that stood out in terms of morphology (long-bed barrows ($n=4$), keyhole-shaped barrows ($n=1$), or from secondary interments in older conspicuous tombs (*e.g.* the Harenermolen Late Neolithic barrow or Middle Neolithic passage tomb D42). The observed relation between prominence of the funerary monument, a generally early phasing in the urnfield development and the exclusiveness of receiving grooming tools into the grave, indicates that those receiving

them held a distinct and possibly higher social standing – regardless of the relation to martial roles fulfilled by such individuals.

4.3 Toilet sets: a Hallstatt elite accessory?

The third cluster of later prehistoric razors and tweezers, concerns the Early (to Middle?) Iron Age (Hallstatt C-D/La Tene A) occurrence of toilet sets. In this period, the toilet set often is physically linked when several implements (awl, ear-scoop, nail-cleaner and tweezers) were strung together on a metal ring or combined in an organic pouch (Fig. 25; Van der Vaart-Verschoof 2017: 36; 124; 126). At Slabroek, Frankfurt, Otzing and Hochdorf, such sets were placed on the chest of the deceased (Van der Vaart-Verschoof & Schumann 2017: 20-21). Razors were not necessarily part of such toilet sets in a physical sense (*i.e.* not part of the tools strung together on a ring or cord) but were part of the toilet set in the broader sense (Fig. 25, lower left, *cf.* Van der Vaart-Verschoof 2017: 152 fig. C19.3; 154 fig. C20.1; 126). The cases of their incorporation into the ‘princely graves’ of Rhenen-Koerheuvel, Oss orstengraf and Uden-Slabroek show that (now also iron) razors, tweezers and nail-cleaners were fitting grave goods for the upper social echelon. In such graves, the elite affiliations are evident, but it remains debatable whether the incorporation of single iron razor blades in Early Iron Age urns (*e.g.* DB2740; DB2742) signalled a comparably elevated social standing. Noteworthy is that the composition of

27 *E.g.* Schabink & Tol 2000: 42; Gerritsen 2003: 125; Hulst 2010: 58; Hessing & Kooi 2005: 641.

the Oss-Vorstengraf assemblage, with its Mindelheim sword (Van der Vaart-Verschoof 2011: 183-185), made the link between weaponry (albeit rendered defunct, cf. Van der Vaart-Verschoof 2017: 51) and toilet sets visible again. This grave may reflect southern affinities, as razors occur in 25% of HaC sword graves from Gaul, and constitute the fourth most common association after pottery, scabbards/chapes and textiles; Milcent 2017: 94-95; fig. 6).²⁸

5. Toilet sets and warrior identities: who once were warriors?

As stated above, no unequivocal identification of toilet sets and warrior identities is possible for the Dutch later prehistoric data. An interpretative leap of faith is required for much of the urnfield data, as during this period the scarcity of weaponry may reflect a veritable taboo on its incorporation. Yet this period of c. 1300-800 BC is flanked chronologically by two periods in which weaponry was unproblematically combined with razors. Preceding it we observe a phase of incorporation of razors (e.g. DB1230) and tweezers (e.g. DB1399) in barrows and hoards (DB1181; DB1759). The tanged razor from the Drouwen grave (DB1230) may represent the most clear-cut case of a toilet set item interpretable as (part of the toolkit required for the display of) a warrior identity, given its affinity to Sögel-Wohlde graves elsewhere – in which such identities appear quite explicitly stressed.²⁹ The Goirle barrow shows that at the same time, in the southern Netherlands, tweezers of non-local origin (DB1399) may reflect the importance of bodily modification ('looking sharp') even if not accompanied by swords.

Regionally specific traditions regarding toilet-set elements are to be expected (cf. Brück & Fontijn 2013: 206), as we have shown that the Bronze Age taboo on weaponry in graves mattered less in the western and northern Netherlands around 1300-1000 BC (Bourgeois & Fontijn 2012: 540-541). Also, it should be noted that razors and tweezers were not part of the inventory of those inhumation graves furnished with swords or arrowheads. We remain in the dark as to whether this signals a relaxation of the connections between bodily appearance and warrior status compared to the preceding period, or whether this simply reflects regionally different traditions in deposition or funerary rites. For the cremation graves datable to the period 1300-800 BC, it appears that once again regional trends come to the fore: in the southern Netherlands, symmetrical bifid razors are found in urnfields – but not together with tweezers (and never with weapons). In the

Veluwe and Overijssel regions in the central and eastern Netherlands, tweezers are often found, but not with razors (and again never with weapons). In the northern and northeastern Netherlands, the types of razor found (asymmetrical ship-shaped razors and derivative forms thereof) once again appear to reflect an integration into Nordic interaction networks. In this northern/northeastern region, razors and tweezers could be unproblematically combined – but again without weapons. In such graves, the importance of bodily appearance – and in particular the manipulation of facial hair – is stressed. But to associate such graves with warriorhood will once more require a leap of faith: indeed the northeastern Dutch graves show sufficient similarities to graves in northern Germany and Denmark in which the types of razor found here were associated with weaponry (cf. Fig. 24). Yet for these regions as well, a shift has been documented from graves with more focus on weaponry towards one (in Per. III, i.e. 1325-1125 BC) in which appearance-enhancing artefacts such as tweezers and razors dominate (Bergerbrandt 2007: 80).

Also, we have argued that the types of monument in which graves furnished with razors or tweezers were incorporated, hinted at a privileged social status of the deceased. Yet for most of the Bronze Age in the Low Countries, no fixed, elite social class of warriors (*sensu* Kristiansen 1984; Kristiansen & Larson 2005) can be substantiated (cf. Arnoldussen 2008: 433-437). Whereas we can identify an elite lifestyle in which grooming of (facial) hair played an important part (and that may have involved weaponry – which however was not eligible for deposition in graves, cf. Fontijn 2003: 236), we still remain quite a distance from warrior elites defined as “professional agents specifically trained in the techniques of warfare” and which are “...centered on both the living and the dead masculine body: common life-/death-style and norms, beliefs, appearance as well as inbred social superiority and habits of cultural consumption” (Vandkilde 2017: 58). Rather, in the Low Countries a warrior ethos (even if fluid and transient; cf. Fontijn 2003: 227-232; Rebay-Salisbury 2017: 42) was expressed more explicitly in life than in the funerary assemblage.

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²⁸ Albeit that the associated razors tend to cluster in southern, rather than northern Gaul (Milcent 2017: 95).

²⁹ Cf. Butler 1986: 150; Fokkens 1998: 113; Fontijn 2003: 228; 345-347; Vandkilde 1996: 156-15.

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Southern Germany and adjacent areas		Southern Scandinavia	NW Germany	Netherlands	UK	Brittany Normandy	E. France
Ha D 625-480 BC 2500-2400 BP							
Ha C 800-625 BC 2650-2450 BP		M VI 750-575 BC 2525-2450 BP	Harpstedt		Llynfawr 800-600 BC		
Ha B3 925-800 BC 2800-2650 BP	Späte Uf	M V 925-750 BC 2800-2450 BP		Drouwen (1939), Onstwedder Holte, Hijkersmilde, Hijken, Bruggelen, Elsen	Ewart Park 900-800 BC	B.f. atl. III carps tongue 950-800 BC	B.f. IIIb
Ha B1 1025-925 BC 2875-2800 BP	Jüngere Uf.	M IV 1125-925 BC 2900-2800 BP	ZG. III: late Deutsch-Evern	St. Maartenskliniek	Blackmoor 975-900 BC	B.f. atl. II St. Brieuc-des-Iffs 1125-950 BC	B.f. IIIa
Ha A2 1125-1025 BC 3000-2875 BP	Mitl. Uf.			Angelslo	Wilburton 1125-975 BC		B.f. IIb
Ha A1 1200-1125 BC 3000-2950 BP	Ältere Uf,	M III 1325-1125 BC 3100-2900 BP	ZG. III: early Deutsch-Evern	Balloërveld	Penard 1250-1125 BC	B.f. atl. I Rosnoën 1300-1125 BC	B.f. IIa
MB D 1325-1200 BC 3100-3000 BP	Späte Hg/ Frühe Uf. Riegsee			Holset	Taunton 1400-1250 BC		B.m. atl. II Bignan 1450/25-1300 BC
MB C2 1400-1325 BC 3100-3050 BP	Jüngere Hg., Asenkofen	M II 1475-1325 BC 3200-3050 BP	ZG. II	Weerdinge + Epe		B.m. III	
MB C1 1475-1400 BC 3200-3100 BP	Mittlere Hg., Göggenhofen		ZG. I	Voorhout	Acton Pk 1575-1400 BC		B.m. II
MB B 1575-1475 BC 3325-3200 BP	Ältere Hg., Locham	M IB 1575-1475 BC 3325-3200 BP	Sögel/Wohlde	Sögel/Wohlde		B.m. atl. I Tréboul 1575-1450/25 BC	B.m. I
EB A2 1775-1575 BC	Jüngere Frühbronzezeit Langquaid	M IA 1775-1575 BC 3500-3300 BP	WKD pottery	WKD pottery	Wessex 2: Arreton (Camerton) 1700-1575 BC		B.a III
EB A1b 1900-1775 BC	Ältere Frühbronzezeit	LN II 1900-1775 BC 3550-3475 BP		WKD pottery Emmen axes	Wessex 1: 1825-1700 BC Lockington 1900-1850 BC		
EBA 1a/late 2025-1900 BC	Ältere Frühbronzezeit	LN I 2000-1900 BC 3650-3550 BP		Wageningen			
EBA 1a/early 2150-2025 BC	Ältere Frühbronzezeit						B.a. I

Fig. 27. Absolute chronology after Lanting & Van der Plicht 2001/2002. Drawing H. Steegstra, GIA (from Butler & Steegstra 2007/2008, p. 376, Fig. 1).

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